

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



Monday, November 11, 1996
Volume 32—Number 45
Pages 2265–2357

Contents

Addresses and Remarks

See also Resignations and Retirements
Arkansas, Little Rock—2288, 2343
California, Santa Barbara—2267
Florida
 Tampa—2296
 West Palm Beach—2300
Iowa, Cedar Rapids—2328
Kentucky, Lexington—2324
Louisiana, New Orleans—2293
Maine, Bangor—2312
Massachusetts, Springfield—2308
New Hampshire, Manchester—2317
New Jersey, Union Township—2305
New Mexico, Las Cruces—2278
Ohio, Cleveland—2320
Radio address—2282
South Dakota, Sioux Falls—2334
Texas
 El Paso—2274
 San Antonio—2283
Victory celebrations
 Little Rock, Arkansas—2343
 National Building Museum—2350
 White House—2348

Communications to Congress

Iraq, letter—2339
Prevention of importation of weapons of mass
destruction, letter—2346

Executive Orders

Administration of the Midway Islands—2265

Executive Orders—Continued

Amending Executive Order 12015, Relating to
Competitive Appointments of Students
Who Have Completed Approved Career-
Related Work Study Programs—2355
Amendments to Executive Order 12992,
Expanding and Changing the Name of the
President's Council on Counter-Narcotics—
2349

Interviews With the News Media

Exchange with reporters in the Cross Halls on
the State Floor—2353

Proclamations

To Extend Nondiscriminatory Treatment
(Most-Favored-Nation Treatment) to the
Products of Romania—2355
Veterans Day—2266

Resignations and Retirements

Secretary of State Warren Christopher—2353

Statements by the President

Russia, heart bypass surgery of President
Boris Yeltsin—2342
United Auto Workers and General Motors,
tentative agreement—2293

Supplementary Materials

Acts approved by the President—2357
Checklist of White House press releases—
2356
Digest of other White House
announcements—2355
Nominations submitted to the Senate—2356

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages, and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* is published pursuant to the authority contained in the Federal Register Act (49 Stat. 500, as amended; 44 U.S.C. Ch. 15), under

regulations prescribed by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, approved by the President (37 FR 23607; 1 CFR Part 10).

Distribution is made only by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* will be furnished by mail to domestic subscribers for \$80.00 per year (\$137.00 for mailing first class) and to foreign subscribers for \$93.75 per year, payable to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The charge for a single copy is \$3.00 (\$3.75 for foreign mailing).

There are no restrictions on the republication of material appearing in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*.

Week Ending Friday, November 8, 1996

**Executive Order 13022—
Administration of the Midway
Islands**

October 31, 1996

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 48 of the Hawaii Omnibus Act, Public Law 86-624, and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. The Midway Islands, Hawaiian group, and their territorial seas, located approximately between the parallels of 28 degrees 5 minutes and 28 degrees 25 minutes North latitude and between the meridians of 177 degrees 10 minutes and 177 degrees 30 minutes West longitude, were placed under the jurisdiction and control of the Department of the Navy by the provisions of Executive Order 199-A of January 20, 1903, and Part II of Executive Order 11048 of September 4, 1962, and are hereby transferred to the jurisdiction and control of the Department of the Interior. The provisions of Executive Order 199-A of January 20, 1903, and the provisions of Executive Order 11048 of September 4, 1962, that pertain to the Midway Islands are hereby superseded.

Sec. 2. The Midway Islands Naval Defensive Sea Area and the Midway Islands Naval Airspace Reservation are hereby dissolved. The provisions of Executive Order 8682 of February 14, 1941, as amended by Executive Order 8729 of April 2, 1941, are hereby superseded.

Sec. 3. (a) The Secretary of the Interior, through the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, shall administer the Midway Islands as the Midway Atoll National Wildlife Refuge in a manner consistent with Executive Order 12996 of March 25, 1996, for the following purposes:

- (1) maintaining and restoring natural biological diversity within the refuge;

- (2) providing for the conservation and management of fish and wildlife and their habitats within the refuge;
- (3) fulfilling the international treaty obligations of the United States with respect to fish and wildlife;
- (4) providing opportunities for scientific research, environmental education, and compatible wildlife dependent recreational activities; and
- (5) in a manner compatible with refuge purposes, shall recognize and maintain the historic significance of the Midway Islands consistent with the policy stated in Executive Order 11593 of May 13, 1971.

(b) The Secretary of the Interior shall be responsible for the civil administration of the Midway Islands and all executive and legislative authority necessary for that administration, and all judicial authority respecting the Midway Islands other than the authority contained in 48 U.S.C. 644a.

Sec. 4. Any civil or criminal proceeding that is pending under the Midway Islands Code, 32 CFR Part 762, upon the date of this order, shall remain under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Navy. Actions arising after the date of this order are the responsibility of the Secretary of the Interior and shall be administered pursuant to regulations promulgated by the Secretary of the Interior.

Sec. 5. To the extent that any prior Executive order or proclamation is inconsistent with the provisions of this order, this order shall control.

Sec. 6. Nothing in this order shall be deemed to reduce, limit, or otherwise modify the authority or responsibility of the Attorney General of the United States to represent the legal interests of the United States in civil or criminal cases arising under the provisions of 48 U.S.C. 644a.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 31, 1996.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:04 a.m., November 1, 1996]

NOTE: This Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 1, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on November 4. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Proclamation 6950—Veterans Day, 1996

October 31, 1996

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

This Veterans Day, Americans enjoy the fruits of peace, freedom, and prosperity in a world where too many must still struggle to live their lives free from conflict, violence, and repression.

As leaders in the fight for liberty, we have sought to advance the cause of freedom and democracy to people all over the world. The credit for our own freedom, as well as our continued security, belongs overwhelmingly to the men and women who have served in our Nation's Armed Forces—our veterans. Had they not been there yesterday, were they not with us today, our world would be far different.

Today we salute their service, honor their sacrifice, thank them for supporting this Nation in every hour of need. And we acknowledge that freedom's cost continues long after the guns fall silent. Many of our veterans bear the disabilities and scars of military service. The families of others—who never returned from their service—live always with a profound sense of loss. It is our duty to remember what our veterans have done and to uphold our commitments to them and their families.

As we mark the past achievements of our veterans, let us remember that they are a vital part of our present and future. Of the 40 million who have served in America's military since the Revolutionary War, 26.5 million are with us today—not distant historical footnotes, but as close as a father or mother, brother or sister, grandfather or grandmother, friend or neighbor.

Their tradition of service extends beyond the battlefield and the barracks. Most veterans in civilian life continue devoting their energies to the service of their country and communities. They are civic-minded role models who challenge and inspire our young people. They are volunteers who work for neighbors in need. They represent what is best in the American spirit.

That is why we must help them make the transition from military to civilian careers and empower them with the opportunities to use their training, discipline, and motivation in good and rewarding jobs. We owe them as well a guarantee that we will continue to defend the American ideals for which they have served and sacrificed. As the strongest force for peace and freedom in the world, we recognize our responsibility to maintain a military capability second to none.

In respect and recognition of the contributions our service men and women have made in defense of America and to advance the cause of peace, the Congress has provided (5 U.S.C. 6103(a)) that November 11 of each year shall be set aside as a legal public holiday to recognize America's veterans.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Monday, November 11, 1996, as Veterans Day. I urge all Americans to recognize the valor and sacrifice of our veterans through appropriate public ceremonies and private prayers. I call upon Federal, State, and local officials to display the flag of the United States and to encourage and participate in patriotic activities in their communities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirty-first day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-first.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:04 a.m., November 1, 1996]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 1, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on November 4. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks in Santa Barbara, California

November 1, 1996

The President. Thank you. Good morning. Thank you very much. Thank you. Can it really be November? [Laughter] Thank you so much, Mayor Miller, County Superintendent Naomi Schwartz, President MacDougall, Senator O'Connell. And an alumna of this school, your State Superintendent of Schools, Delaine Eastin, thank you for being here.

I am delighted to be back here. As all of you know, I think, our family came here on a little vacation after the '92 election. I hope this will bring us good luck in the next 4 days. I'm glad to be here.

I want to thank Walter Capps for running again for Congress after 1994. As some of you may know, I have more than a passing interest in this race because his daughter, Laura, works for us at the White House. And if there were a popularity contest among White House employees, she would probably win it. The apple doesn't fall far from the tree. I know from her that he should be elected, quite apart from everything he has done. Let me say, Walter Capps lost a very close race in 1994, about a thousand votes. It would have been easy to walk away from a disappointment like that, but he came back. He had a serious accident. It would have been easy to walk away and say, "Well, someone else should take up this battle," but he came back. That's the kind of commitment and courage and fortitude this country needs in the United States Congress.

And last year, when his opponent joined the Gingrich-Dole revolution——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. ——and voted for an almost unbelievably destructive budget for America, one that would have cut environmental enforcement drastically, made it more difficult for us to take further actions to protect our environment, the first cut in education in modern history, including student loans and Head Start——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. ——repealed the guarantee of health care we had provided for 30 years to poor children; to middle class fami-

lies with members with disabilities to allow them to care for their family members, let them live at home, and maintain their middle class lifestyles; to our seniors in nursing homes, even to repeal the very standards of care we impose to protect people in nursing homes.

When that happened and I vetoed it, they shut the Government down. And they said, "You have to accept everything in our budget, or we will just keep shutting the Government down." And the people who led the way were those first-year Members of Congress, like Mr. Capps' opponent. They said, "We want everything." I said, "Well, there's a provision in this budget which would allow corporation managers to raid their workers' pension funds. Don't we have any memory?" Look what happened in the eighties to the pension funds. In 1994, finally I got through the last Congress a bill to protect the pensions of 40 million working Americans. I said, "Are we going to turn right back around and do this all over again?" "Yes, shut the Government down."

I said, "Well, there's a provision in this bill, while it gives me a tax cut at my income level—which I don't need—until we balance the budget, this bill would actually raise taxes on 8 million of the hardest working Americans, people working for very modest wages—trying to raise their taxes? You're going to take away their present tax credits and raise their taxes? Can we take that out?" "No, shut the Government down."

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Now there's an attempt to develop a little short-term amnesia among the electorate as we get closer to the elections: "Please forget that; forget that." [Laughter]

You have a big choice to make in this race. Walter Capps is a good man, a brave man. He shares your values; he shares your dreams. I hope you'll send him back to Congress.

Ladies and gentlemen, in just 4 days we will elect the last President of the 20th century and we will choose the first President of the 21st century. As Walter Capps said, I do believe we're at one of those magic moments between hope and history, when we have the opportunity to both have unprece-

dented prosperity and discovery and adventure and move closer to the values and the ideals which we all say we believe in. But it depends upon what vision we choose. And it depends on what strategy we choose.

There are so many young people here in the audience—and I thank you for being here, because this is about you. And I want to ask you to do something tonight. Before you turn in when you go home, take just a couple of minutes and see if you can ask yourself and answer this question: What would I like my country to look like when we cross that great bridge into the 21st century? What would I like my country to be like when my children are my age?

I know what I want. I want the American dream alive for every person who's willing to work for it. I want America to keep being the strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the entire world, even if we have to make some controversial decisions to help end wars like Bosnia or throw dictators out of Haiti or continue to move forward in other areas. I know I've been criticized for some of the things I've tried to do, but I know that there are no Russian missiles pointed at the children of America for the first time since the dawn of the cold war. And I want an America that is coming together instead of being torn apart. All around the world people are being divided by race, by religion, by ethnicity, by tribe, killing each other and each other's children because they cannot get along. Look in this crowd today. In this crowd we say, you can be an American; it doesn't matter who you are, where you're from, anything else about you. You've just got to believe in our values, obey the law, and do a good job.

Now, we have followed a simple strategy: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, an American community that includes all. Four years ago, the people of California, in very difficult conditions, took that strategy on faith. Today there is a record. You don't have to take our word for it when you see the differences in our vision, that we want to build a bridge to the 21st century; they want to build a bridge to the past. They want to say, you're on your own; we want to say, to use the words of my best friend and someone

I'm reasonably close to, it does take a village to raise a child and to build a future.

Now we know which side is right. Over the last 4 years, incomes have been rising, jobs have been coming in, the average family income has gone up \$1,600 after inflation in the last 2 years alone. We've had the largest drop in child poverty in 20 years; the largest drop in inequality among working people in 27 years; the lowest rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages in 27 years; the highest rates of homeownership in 15 years; record rates of new businesses formed every year, including new businesses owned by women and minorities. We are moving in the right direction.

The crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row and, in the Nation as a whole, is at a 10-year low. The welfare rolls have been reduced by 1.9 million. Child support collections are up 50 percent, \$4 billion a year for deserving children all across America. We are moving in the right direction.

In the closing days of the last Congress, we raised the minimum wage for 10 million people. We said to 25 million people—25 million people—you can't have your health insurance taken away from you anymore just because you changed jobs or someone in your family has been sick. We said that insurance companies can no longer force hospitals to kick mothers and newborn babies out of the hospitals in 24 hours.

We gave more help to small businesses, every one in the country, making them eligible for tax cuts if they invest more in their businesses. We helped people get health insurance if they self-insure by giving them greater tax benefits for doing that. We helped people to take out pensions and to carry with them from job to job if they work for small businesses. We're moving in the right direction.

We gave families who will adopt a child—and there are so many out there who need adoption—a \$5,000 tax credit. We are moving this country in the right direction. And we had the biggest increase in Pell Grants in 20 years and added 200,000 work-study positions to the Federal Government's efforts to help people go to college.

Just a few days ago, we learned that our annual growth is about 3 percent; that real

incomes are rising at about 5 percent, which is a very healthy rate after 20 years of virtual stagnation; that we have the highest rates of new investment in our country, almost 19 percent, since President Kennedy was President.

We have protected the air, the water, the land. We set aside in the Mojave Desert the biggest natural reserves south of Alaska in the history of America with three national parks; converted the Presidio to a national park, set aside 1.7 million acres in southern Utah in the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, moved to save Yellowstone Park from a gold mine, and helped to protect the environment. And we stopped our friends on the other side when they tried to lift the ban on offshore drilling.

Now, during this whole campaign, a lot of interesting things have happened. I told someone yesterday and the day before, my opponent, Senator Dole, said that we had the worst economy in America in 20 years, but just 2 weeks before that he said we had the worst economy in 100 years. *[Laughter]* So I think he made the case for reelection; not everyone can make up 80 years in 2 weeks.

Now, the truth is, back in February he admitted we had the best economy in America in 30 years. And you know California, while we've still got a long way to go, is way better off than it was 4 years ago. We are moving in the right direction.

And today we got some more good news. Unemployment held steady at 5.2 percent in the country, 210,000 new jobs in October. That makes 10.7 million new jobs in America since I took the oath of office. We are moving in the right direction.

It is time for my opponent and those on the other side to stop all this doom-and-gloom talk about America. In spite of what he wants you to think, when it comes to the economy, the sky is not falling. The sky is the limit, and we're going after it.

But this election should be about what else we have to do to build our common bridge to the 21st century. And I'd like to ask you all to sort of ride along with me for a moment and let me discuss an issue that hasn't been discussed enough in this campaign, and that is whether we will reform our system of poli-

tics by finally passing meaningful campaign finance reform legislation.

When I ran for President 4 years ago, I said I wanted to give our Government back to the people. I wanted a Government to represent the national interests, not narrow interests, a Government that would stand up for ordinary Americans. And I have worked hard to do that. When I became President, I barred top officials from ever representing foreign Governments when they leave our service. I barred top officials from lobbying their own agencies for 5 years after leaving office. The days of the revolving door, when top trade negotiators left to work for the very countries they were negotiating against, are over.

We passed the most sweeping lobby reform legislation in 50 years. From now on, professional lobbyists must disclose for whom they work, what they are spending, and what bills they are trying to pass or kill—for the first time ever. I challenged the Congress to ban gifts from lobbyists, and they did that.

We passed a line-item veto so Presidents can strip special-interest pork in general legislation. We passed the motor-voter law, which has enabled millions of people to register more easily and will add millions to the voting rolls next Tuesday. We passed the Congressional Accountability Act and then the White House accountability act to apply to Congress and the White House the same laws that we pass and impose on everyone else in America.

All these actions will serve to make Washington work better for you. But there is still more to do, and special interests still have too much say. We have clearly one more big job to do: curbing the power that special interests have in our elections. Everybody knows the problems of campaign money today. There is too much of it. It takes too much time to raise. And it raises too many questions.

The parties are engaged in an escalating arms race. In the past 2 years—listen to this—in the past 2 years, the Democrat Party and its House and Senate campaign committees have raised \$241 million. The Republican Party and its Senate and House campaign committees have raised \$399 million.

Raising that much money strains the political system. We have played by the rules, but I know and you know we need to change the rules.

I proposed a tough campaign finance bill when I came into office, but the Congress would not pass it. The Republicans have been reluctant to give up their access to big money. Led by my opponent, they filibustered the bill I proposed to death. In fact, campaign finance reform has come before the Congress six Congresses in a row, and my opponent filibustered it five times. He blocked the last one right before he left office.

In 1995, I met with Speaker Gingrich at a townhall meeting in New Hampshire. And when we were there a citizen asked us if we would create a bipartisan commission to come up with a campaign finance reform proposal that we would then try to pass. We both agreed. I thought it offered a real chance for bipartisanship and action. And frankly, I was excited about it. I even appointed two distinguished citizens, John Gardner and Doris Kearns Goodwin, to help get it started. But the Republicans walked away. My opponent now says he would support such a commission. But when we had a real chance to succeed, he wouldn't help us start it.

Now we have a chance—we had a chance to take bipartisan politics—or partisan politics out of this issue this year as well. I supported a strong bipartisan bill introduced by one of my opponent's strongest supporters, Senator John McCain, and Senator Fred Thompson and Democratic Senator Russ Feingold from Wisconsin. They've got a good approach. It's based on principles I advocated back in 1992. We should curb the power of special interests by restricting political action committees and dramatically reducing the amount they can give to candidates. We should ban contributions from lobbyists to those who lobby. That's what I believe. We should end the big money contributions to political parties known today as soft money. We should ban corporations and unions from directly giving to parties to help Federal candidates they can no longer help directly. And for the first time ever, we should restrict the virtually unlimited amount

of money individuals can now give to parties. We should set voluntary spending limits for candidates. And we should give free TV time so that all candidates who observe the voluntary limits—but only those who observe the voluntary limits—can talk directly to voters.

And parenthetically, I might say we made a beginning on that approach this year, and I would like to thank those networks which offered Senator Dole and me the opportunity to speak directly to the voters at various times in 90-second or 2-minute messages. I thought that was a very good public service. It's the beginning of seeing how we might do it on a sustained, regular, disciplined basis, because we have to have access to the voters and if you have to purchase it all, it is extremely expensive. So the voluntary spending limits and the free time must work together.

This is a good approach. It was endorsed by Common Cause and every other major reform group. It was bipartisan. It was tough. It was real reform. But my opponent opposed it. He refused to bring it to the floor for a vote. And after he left Congress to run for President, the Republican leaders finally allowed the legislation to come to a vote, and then they killed it.

There is one more issue that reform must deal with. Today it is legal for both parties to receive contributions from corporations that are completely owned by foreign corporations or interests and from individuals who live in the United States legally but are not citizens. Many of them have lived here many years and have employees and interests in this country. The Democratic Party has raised money this way, and so has the Republican Party. In fact, the Republican Party has raised much more money in this way than the Democrats, but that's not the point. It's time to end this practice as well.

Now, McCain-Feingold would end all corporate contributions, so it would take care of that part of the problem. But we should also end contributions to either party from individuals who are not citizens. There are many immigrants who play an important role in our country, and all of you in California know I have done my best to defend legal immigration and the rich contribution it

makes to the United States of America. But if the essence of a democracy is its citizens decide, and only citizens can vote, then I believe only citizens should be able to contribute. That is not anti-immigrant, it is simply stating the fact: Those who vote should finance the elections that they vote in.

There is no more excuse for waiting. I tried to form a commission, but now is not the time for a commission. This is a time for action. Once again, I call upon the Congress to enact real reform. Delay will only help those who don't want to change at all. When McCain and Feingold introduce their bill next year, I will introduce it with them. Real reform will mean a Government that is more representative, not less. And I ask you, every one of you, to help us to pass real, meaningful campaign finance reform in Washington. Will you do that? *[Applause]*

Now, let me say one other thing. We should also understand that in a recent case the Supreme Court has made it impossible to enforce some of the strictest limits. And this bill will not solve all of our problems. Even as it establishes limits, it will still allow, because of the Supreme Court's decisions, a millionaire or a billionaire to spend endless sums running for office. It may be that further measures are needed. But in the meantime, that's not an excuse to do what we can. We must act, and we must act now.

Let me also say to you that your vote will decide a lot of things in this election. It's far bigger than President Clinton or Senator Dole, even bigger than Congressman Capps or Congresswoman Seastrand. This election is really about how we are going to proceed into the 21st century as a people. Your vote will decide, for example, whether we keep the economy growing by balancing the budget while protecting our investments in education, the environment, and research and technology and Medicare and Medicaid or whether we adopt an even more radical version of the budget I vetoed that will blow a hole in the deficit, raise taxes on 9 million people, and require bigger cuts than the ones that I vetoed last time.

Your vote will decide what we do about helping families to balance the demands of work and childrearing, the biggest challenge many families face. I'm proud of the fact that

we passed the Family and Medical Leave Act and let 12 million people take some time off from work when a baby was born or someone in their family was sick.

Now, this is an honest difference between the two parties. My opponent led the opposition to it, said this year it was still a mistake. Well, we have some evidence now. Twelve million times it's been used, and during that time we've had record new business formation and 10.7 million new jobs. The reason is, America is stronger economically with happy, productive people in the workplace who aren't worried sick about their children at home. That's why.

I'd like to see us expand family leave. I think people ought to be able to take a little time off from work to go see their children's teachers twice a year or take their kids to regular doctor's appointments. I believe people who earn overtime and have problems in the family, a sick spouse, a sick child, a sick parent—I think people who earn overtime ought to have the right to decide whether to take the overtime in money or time with the family. We'll be a stronger country with a stronger economy when people feel better about fulfilling their responsibilities to their family members. And I want you to help me do that. Walter Capps will. Will you help us? *[Applause]*

We passed the beginning of health care reform, but our balanced budget would help people who are between jobs keep health insurance for their families for 6 months. It would add another million people to the ranks of insured—children. It would work with States to add another 2 million working families to the ranks of insured. There are still too many people without insurance. It would give free mammograms to women on Medicare. It would give help for respite care for the over 1½ million families that are struggling nobly and bravely and humanely to care for a family member with Alzheimer's. Our budget pays for it; theirs doesn't. Will you help us do that? *[Applause]*

We passed the V-chip for new television sets, got a TV rating system voluntarily developed by the entertainment industry, secured an agreement for 3 more hours of educational television, doubled the amount of funds going into the safe and drug-free

schools program, and for the first time ever took action to stop the big tobacco companies from advertising and marketing tobacco to children.

Now, on the V-chip, on the safe and drug-free schools program which has helped so many children to stay away from drugs and trouble, and on the tobacco issue, my opponent disagrees. All these things can still be reversed. I think we need them as building blocks in our bridge. Will you help me keep them and do them into the 21st century? [Applause]

We passed the Brady bill, the assault weapons ban, a bill to put 100,000 police on the streets, "three strikes and you're out." Our opponents, Senator Dole and the Speaker, they led the fight against that crime bill. And now they don't understand why every major law enforcement organization, for the first time ever, has endorsed the Clinton/Gore ticket for reelection.

We know how to lower the crime rate. We've fought for the 100,000 police; Senator Dole led the fight against it. When they won the Congress, they voted to abolish the program, even though the crime rate was going down. Then they tried to cut the program. We've only funded half of those police officers, and I'd like to finish the job, but you have to help me. Will you do it? [Applause] They actually tried to repeal the assault weapons ban, and Walter Capps' opponent voted to do that.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Now, you know, 2 years ago, frankly, they were just paying a debt 2 years ago. That's why a lot of them won. They went out in a lot of these rural districts in places like my home State, where half the people have a hunting or a fishing license or both, and they said, "There they go again. They're going to take your guns away. That's what the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban mean."

Well, 2 years later, those same people who voted that way know the truth. Not a single hunter or sportsperson in America has lost a legitimate weapon, but over 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers can't get a handgun because of the Brady bill. And we just extended the Brady bill so that now people who beat up their spouses and their children can't get

it either. And now that we have fought off the attempt to repeal the assault weapons ban, we ought to make sure they don't come back with that. And we ought to ban bullets that are designed for one purpose only, to pierce the bulletproof vests of police officers. They are wrong, and we ought to get rid of them. Will you help us finish this job? [Applause]

We moved a million nine hundred thousand people from welfare to work and passed historic welfare reform legislation that says we will guarantee to poor people, and to the children especially, health care, nutrition, and more child care than ever when people move from welfare to work. But able-bodied people must move within 2 years from welfare to work. But the law doesn't do anything. You can't require people to go to work unless there are jobs for them to take. I have a plan to create another million jobs to help move people from welfare to work. Will you help us implement that plan? [Applause]

There is much more to do on the environment. A lot of these plans for these national parks and other preserves are just beginning. We have to finish the job. We cleaned up more toxic waste sites in 3 years than they did in 12. But we still have 10 million kids living within 4 miles of toxic sites. We'll clean up the 500 worst ones. We want to be able to say in the 21st century, all our children can grow up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us do that? [Applause]

And most important of all, your vote will decide—as the president said here when we started—whether we put ourselves squarely on the line for giving every single American access to world-class education. I am proud of the fact that we have increased Head Start; passed the national service program; given schools all over California and the rest of the country opportunities to try new and exciting ways to achieve excellence, like the charter movement; that we passed a new college loan program which lowers the cost of college loans and gives young people a chance to repay them as a percentage of their income so people can never be bankrupted by borrowing the money to go to college. I'm proud of the increase in the Pell grants and 200,000 more work-study positions. But it is just a

beginning. There is more we need to do. And I need your help.

Forty percent of our 8-year-olds still cannot read independently by the third grade. Part of it is we're having a new wave of immigration. A lot of those children's first language is not English. But that will be cold comfort for them if they move through school unable to continue to learn. I have a proposal to mobilize AmeriCorps volunteers and 30,000 other reading specialists to go around the country and get a million volunteers to teach our children to read. And I want 100,000 of those 200,000 new work-study slots to go to young college students who say, "I'll go. I'll teach young people to read." Will you help us do that? Will you help us? [Applause]

Schools all over America are bursting at the seams with the largest number of children in history. We have the first plan ever to help school districts to build new facilities and repair old ones so our kids have decent learning environments. We have a plan to hook up every classroom and every library in every school in America to the information superhighway by the year 2000. Will you help us do it? [Applause]

We do want to say in 4 years we can make at least 2 years of higher education as universal as a college diploma is today simply by saying you can deduct from your taxes, dollar for dollar, the cost of the typical community college tuition if you go and make your grades and you're a good citizen. Will you help us do that? [Applause] I want to let families save in an IRA for their retirement but withdraw tax-free if the money's being used for education, health care, or first-time home buying. Will you help us do that? [Applause] And I believe we should give families a tax deduction of up to \$10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition at any level for Americans of any age. Will you help us do that? [Applause] Now, that will build a bridge to the 21st century.

And finally, let me say as you look around this vast sea of people today, I ask you to think again of how we are going to do this and whether we are going to practice the politics of division—what some gleefully call wedge issues—or are we going to say, we want to go forward together?

Think about how sad it is that in the Holy Land, the home of the world's three great monotheistic religions, people still cannot lay down their hatred of one another. Think how sad it is that in the home of my ancestors, Ireland, full of young, brilliant people bursting at the seams for new opportunity in Northern Ireland, people still cannot lay down their religious differences and their arguments about incidents that occurred centuries ago. Think about how sad it is that in Bosnia, people who are biologically indistinguishable killed one another's children with reckless abandon. Or in Rwanda, Burundi, the Hutus and the Tutsis—both of them with no money, really, to speak of to further their dreams and help their children—instead of cooperating, slaughter each other at record rates.

In America we must fight against that. That's why we had to stand against what happened at Oklahoma City. That's why we had to stand against the church burnings and the defacement of synagogues and mosques and Islamic centers. And that's why we have to stand together for a different future.

If you want all these things I talked about, in the end it will to some extent be an affair of the American heart. We must be willing to say, I tell you again, that in this country all we need to know about you is whether you embrace our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, our Declaration of Independence; whether you are willing to show up for work or school tomorrow; whether you are willing to give your neighbors the elbow room to pursue their personal lives and their freedom; whether you are willing to treat people, even those with whom you dramatically disagree, with genuine respect if they are law-abiding, hard-working citizens. And we ought to say, if you're that way, we don't need to know anything else about you. You're part of our America, and we're going to build a bridge together to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:44 a.m. at Santa Barbara City College. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Harriet Miller of Santa Barbara; Naomi Schwartz, superintendent, Santa Barbara County schools; Peter MacDougall, president, Santa Barbara City College; State Senator Jack O'Connell; Delaine Eastin, California State Superintendent

of Schools; and Walter Capps, candidate for California's 22d Congressional District. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks in El Paso, Texas

November 1, 1996

Thank you. Hello, El Paso! Can you hear us in the back? Can you hear us behind the press back there? I always wanted to come back to El Paso. Congressman Coleman asked me to come back to El Paso before he left office. He didn't tell me if I came back the whole town would come out to see me, but I'm glad to see you. Thank you.

Thank you, Ron Coleman, for the great service you have rendered to this district, to Texas, and to your country. We'll miss you. Thank you, Governor Briscoe, for your speech, your work, the power of your example, your faith, and your energy. I, too, believe, like you, if we all show up on Tuesday, the result will be good and we will win and move this country forward into the right direction.

Thank you, Judge Mattox, Texas Democratic Chair Bill White, LULAC President Beline Robles. Ambassador Talles is here somewhere. Where are you, sir? Raise your hand. Hello, it's good to see you. Thank you for being here. State Senator-nominee Eliot Shapleigh; thank you, Victor Morales, for your long, courageous effort to prove that an ordinary American citizen's voice can still be heard in the 1990's. Thank you. Give him a hand. *[Applause]*

Thank you, Silvestre Reyes, first, for the boots; I'll wear them, both pairs, with great pride and great memories of this day. Thank you for your career in the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Thank you for proving that America can protect its borders and still be an honorable nation of immigrants. Thank you, Silvestre Reyes.

I want to thank all the bands that came out today: Hanks High School, Bowie High School, Austin High School, Parkland, Riverside, Socorro, Del Valle. I thank the dance groups: the Mariachis, La Differentia, the Shiloh Baptist Church, all those who per-

formed before I came. It sounds like you had half the fun before I showed up.

I am so glad to be here. We are about to elect the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. I especially am glad to see so many young people here today, for this election is about your future. We are not just ending a century and beginning a new one. You all know that in everyplace in America we are changing the way we work and live, the way we relate to each other and to the rest of the world.

This is a time full of promise and hope and a time full of challenge. This is an election of enormous moment, one with great consequences and, thankfully, one with clear choices: Will we build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past? Do you believe, along with our friends on the other side, that we're all on our own, or do you believe, as the person closest to me once said, it does take a village to raise our children and build our future, and we have to do it together?

That is the choice. Four years ago, I came to Texas and all across the country, along with the Vice President, to say that we wanted to create an America in the 21st century where every person, without regard to race or religion or gender or background or where you start out in life, would have a chance to live up to their God-given abilities if they were responsible enough to work for it; that we wanted an America involved with the world, leading the world for peace and freedom and prosperity; and we wanted an America where all of us, regardless of our backgrounds, have a place at the table and a part in America's community, that we're going to be growing together, not growing apart as we move into the 21st century.

Four years ago, the American people took us on faith. But now there is a record, and the record is clear. Compared to 4 years ago, we have 10.7 million new jobs in America; homeownership is at a 15-year high; unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages together at a 27-year low. We had the biggest drop in child poverty in 20 years. We are moving in the right direction, and we need to keep on going all the way to the 21st century.

In our country the crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row and is at its lowest

level in 10 years. The welfare rolls have been reduced by nearly 2 million. Child support is up by 50 percent, \$4 billion a year. We have improved college loans, lowering the costs and making the repayments easier. We have more children in Head Start. We just added 200,000 work-study positions so more children can go on to college and pay their way through. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million Americans. We made 25 million Americans eligible to keep their health insurance because now it's illegal to take it away when you change jobs or just because someone in your family gets sick. We have stopped the practice of insurance companies all across this country in kicking mothers and their newborn babies out of the hospitals after only 24 hours. We are moving in the right direction.

It is interesting to me that my opponent says that the country is in terrible shape. Let me ask you this, folks. If a Republican had been President and had reduced the size of the Federal Government to its smallest size since President Kennedy, eliminated more regulations and programs than his 2 predecessors in 12 years, reduced the deficit in all 4 years of his term for the first time in the 20th century, and helped to create an economy in which there were 10.7 million new jobs, do you really believe they would be saying that the sky is falling? The sky is not falling; the sky is the limit for America if we keep on going the way we're going.

I ask each of you to do what you can between now and Tuesday to reach all your friends, to talk to them about the consequences and the choice. We have so much more to do. We must decide, are we going to follow the path that I have laid out and balance the budget while protecting Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment for our seniors, for families with members with disabilities, for our children and their future, to prove that we can preserve our natural heritage? Are we going to keep going forward together or adopt that risky tax scheme that would blow a hole in the deficit, weaken the Texas economy, require bigger cuts than the ones I vetoed last year when they shut the Government down? I think you want to keep America going in

the right direction. Will you help us do that? [Applause]

We must decide whether we're going to meet perhaps the biggest challenge of this new age for ordinary families. Everywhere I go, people of all income groups, even well-to-do people with children, tell me that they're spending more hours at work than ever before and they're concerned about whether they can also be good parents. I hear it everywhere. We have worked hard for the family and medical leave law, and 12 million people took a little time off from work when a baby was born or a family member was sick, without losing their jobs. I think we did the right thing. They believe we did the wrong thing. You have to decide.

I believe our country is better off when people are happy at work because they know their children are doing well at home and in school. I want to expand family leave so that people can go see their children's teachers twice a year. I think that would make us a stronger country. I want to say that people ought to be able to take just a little time off from work to take their parents or their children to regular doctor's appointments. I want to say that we ought to give more parents help to raise their children. That's why we've doubled funding for the safe and drug-free schools program, so we'd have those D.A.R.E. officers and others in our schools telling our kids that drugs are dangerous, they're illegal, they can kill you. Let's start. They tried to cut that program in half. I think we were right, and they were wrong.

That's why we have worked to stop the tobacco companies from advertising and selling tobacco illegally to our young children, because 3,000 a day start smoking, and 1,000 will die sooner because of it. It is wrong. They disagree with me. I think I'm right. You have to decide. I want to see it through to make every child's future as healthy as possible. Will you help us? [Applause]

You already heard what Congressman Coleman said. When we passed the crime bill in 1994 to put 100,000 police on our streets, to give our young children something to say yes to and constructive activities, to say that when people commit three serious crimes in a row they ought not to ever be paroled, to say that we were going to have

a program to promote efforts to prevent violence against women and children, to pass the Brady bill, to pass the assault weapons ban, those friends on the other side in the other party, they led the fight against it. My opponent led the fight against it.

They told everybody—they went all over Texas telling people, “The Democrats have lost their mind; that President is going to come take your gun away.” Now, I grew up in a State where half the people have a hunting or a fishing license or both. And I saw people in my own State wondering if they were telling the truth. And they won a lot of elections in 1994 with that line—a lot—maybe why they have the House now. They may have made Mr. Gingrich the Speaker of the House telling people we’re going to take their guns away. But you know, we’ve had 2 years now, and now we know the truth. In all the State of Texas, as vast and wide as it is, not a single law-abiding hunter or sports person has lost a weapon. But over 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers did not get handguns because of the Brady bill. And now people who beat up their children and their spouses can’t get them either. And I think we were right. You have to decide.

We’ve got the crime rate coming down for 4 years in a row, the lowest crime rate in 10 years. But you and I know there’s still too much violence in our country. We have to do more. We have only funded half of those police officers. We have only done part of what we’re trying to do with our children in the schools. But they keep trying to stop us from putting 100,000 police on the street. You have to decide.

There’s a reason why the Vice President and I were the first team in our party ever to get the endorsement of every major law enforcement group in the entire United States, because we are for the safety of our children. We think every street, every school, every neighborhood should be safe. I think we’re right and they’re wrong, and I want you to decide and help us build a safe bridge to the 21st century.

There are many other issues I would like to talk about. But when I look at this group today I know that they are important to you. I have a plan to move a million people from welfare to work. We passed a welfare reform

law that says people who are able-bodied have to go to work within 2 years. But if they’re going to go to work, there have to be jobs there. I have a plan to create them. I want you to help me create those jobs. Will you do it? [Applause]

For 4 years, I have asked the Congress to reform the laws of campaign finance. Today again I called for a bipartisan approach to reduce the influence of special interests in politics and give more ordinary citizens like Victor Morales a fighting chance to be heard by the people and elected by the people. Will you help us pass campaign finance reform? [Applause]

But most important of all is whether we are committed to giving our people a world-class education, not just some children but all children and all adults who need it. Will you help us do that? [Applause] I have offered the American people a proposal to mobilize one million volunteers to go all across America to work with parents and teachers to make sure that by the year 2000 every single 8-year-old in America can pick up a book and say, “I can read this all by myself.” Will you help us do it? [Applause]

I’ve asked 100,000 of the new work-study programs for college students be dedicated to young people who will go into our schools and help our children learn to read. Will the young people in this audience pledge to help us do this? Will you help us teach our children to read? [Applause]

I want to hook up every classroom and every library and every school in El Paso and every other community in America to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web, to make sure that these children, for the very first time in the history of America, will all be able to get the same information in the same way at the same time. It will revolutionize learning in America. Will you help me do that by the year 2000? [Applause]

And finally, will you help us open the doors of college education to all Americans? [Applause] Let me tell you, folks, there is no clearer example than learning of what we should be doing together and why our approach is right and theirs is wrong. We are pushing the frontiers of knowledge as never before. In the last 4 years, we discovered two

genes that cause breast cancer. It is a matter of time before we're able to detect it early enough to save the life of every woman who is afflicted by it. In the last few months, for the first time ever, laboratory animals with their spines completely severed have recovered movement in their legs because of nerve transplants; it's just a matter of time until we can do that for people. And America should lead the way with learning, and you should support it.

But it's not just the scientists, it's everyone. We all need that. I want to open the doors of college education to all Americans by doing three things. Number one, in 4 years we ought to make a community college degree, at least 2 years after high school, as universal as a high school diploma is today. And here's how we're going to do it. I want to let people simply deduct from their taxes, dollar for dollar, the cost of a typical community college tuition. It will help everyone get what they need. I want to let you save in a retirement account but withdraw from it without any penalty if you use the money for a college education or for homebuying or health care costs. And I want every family in this country to be able to deduct up to \$10,000 a year for the cost of any kind of college tuition. Let's open the doors to all Americans. Will you help us do that? [Applause] Will you help us in the back? [Applause] Will you help us? [Applause]

My fellow Americans, in these political campaigns, very often the closer you get to the election, the hotter the words get. And there has developed a tendency in the last few years for people to try to say that they don't just disagree with their opponents but their opponents are no good, there's something wrong with them. I personally believe that's a bad development in America. Most of the people, I believe, in this country, of both parties, love our country and only want the best for it. I don't have to say that I dislike the people I'm running against to say I disagree with them honorably.

But let me tell you, to me this election is about big, big things. The world is changing. I can't take credit for that. I can't take credit for all the good things that have happened in America. But I do say, we have gone now in the right direction, and together we

are making it better. And that's the big question before us today.

Just in the last couple of days, I was in Denver, Colorado, at a rally like this—although it was considerably smaller. At the end of the day, I went through the crowd shaking hands as I always do, and let me tell you what I found: I found a young woman who had been a victim of domestic violence, who thanked me for the efforts we were now making with our hotline to help people like her out. I found three women together who had been victimized by breast cancer, who knew that we had broken new ground in medical research. I found a young man who had dropped out but had gone back to college because we've changed the college loan program to make it more affordable. I found a young woman who was a law enforcement officer, thanking me because we have put five more police officers in her community and she felt safer on the beat and thought their children would be safer because of it. Everywhere I go I find this. I found a man who thanked me because he and his wife had just adopted a child and they were able to take a little time off to get used to that baby because of the family and medical leave law.

This is what elections are about: How will we change the face of America for the better? How will we make America better? The only thing that matters is what our country will look like when we go into the 21st century.

Now, you look around this vast crowd today—I say to you again, we must do this together. So much of the time I have spent as your President in dealing with the problems of the world has been involved with people who hate each other because they are of different religions or races or tribes or ethnic groups. I have seen the people of Bosnia, who are biologically indistinguishable, actually prepared to kill each other and their children. In Ireland, where my people come from, there are still Protestants and Catholics fighting over things that happened hundreds of years ago while the children long for peace and a better future. In Africa today we see again hundreds of thousands of people dislodged because of tribal hatreds that are senseless. None of them have enough to do what they need to do for their children as it is. If they would simply join hands, they

could make a bigger, brighter future for everyone, instead of shrinking the future for everyone. I see it everywhere.

But America has been different, and America must be different. That's why when people started expressing their hatred of the Federal Government, I stood up for the Federal employees and reminded people they're our friends and neighbors; they're people like Silvestre. They're our neighbors and friends. That's why we stood up to the church burnings and to the people who would deface the mosques and the Muslim centers. We are all in this, and I say you know this instinctively because of where you live and who you are and what your experience is. El Paso, this is, as much as anything else, an election of the heart.

And so I say, I want you all to be there. I want you all to be there because you must know the fundamental truth of America: Our best days are still ahead if we do the right things. I want to build a bridge big enough and wide enough for every single one of us to walk across together. Will you help me do it? [Applause] Will you help me? [Applause] Will you do it for your children? [Applause] Will you do it for our future? [Applause]

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:05 p.m. at El Paso International Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Dolph Briscoe, former Governor of Texas; Charles (Chuck) Mattox, El Paso County judge; Raymond Talles, former U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica; senatorial candidate Victor Morales; and Silvestre Reyes, candidate for Texas' 16th Congressional District. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks in Las Cruces, New Mexico November 1, 1996

The President. Thank you. *Yo amo a Las Cruces.* Hello! Ladies and gentlemen, it is wonderful to be back in Las Cruces again after an absence of many years. I don't know how long it's been since a President has been here, but the others didn't know what they were missing. I am glad to be here.

I want to thank the Aggie Pride Band for playing for me. Thank you. I thank those who

have joined me here on the stage. Senator Bingaman, thank you for your leadership for New Mexico and for America, especially in breaking down the barriers to developing America's high technology and creating jobs for all these young people that are getting an education here. Thank you, Bill Richardson, for helping me to lead the fight against what Speaker Gingrich and the Congressman from this district tried to do to the Federal budget, to the American people, and to our future, and for leading the cause of world peace. Thank you.

I thank Governor Bruce and Alice King. I thank Senator Mary Jane Garcia. She did get me to promise to come here, and I did not want to incur her wrath. [Laughter] So I'm glad to be here. Senate candidate Art Trujillo, New Mexico College Democratic president Julie Ward—didn't she do a great job? Give her another hand; give her a hand. She was great. [Applause] You know, even if you've got a lot of self-confidence, it's hard to stand up in front of 35,000 people or however many we have—maybe more way back there in the back. I can't see; I hope you can hear us. But Julie Ward did this school proud and the young people of America proud. Give her another hand; she was great. [Applause]

I thank Mayor Ruben Smith for welcoming me here, and your attorney general, Tom Udall; State Corporations Commissioner Eric Serna; Democratic chair Earl Potter; and all the others who are up here. And President Orenduff, thank you for making me feel so welcome here. I was glad to be coming before I saw you; I'm ecstatic now. This is an amazing story. I want to say to all of you—

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. I want to say to all of you, we are about to vote in the last Presidential election of the 20th century, for the first President of the 21st century. All of you know that we are living through a period of enormous change in how we work and live, how we relate to each other and the rest of the world, how we're becoming more diverse, how people will have more possibilities than ever before, how we have more challenges that are different. All these

changes are coming. The real question is, how are we responding?

I have worked hard for 4 years to create America's best future for all of you in the 21st century, to create a country in which everybody—Latino, African-American, Irish-American, Polish-American, Asian-American, you name it—all Americans who are willing to work for it can live out their dreams, an America still standing fast for freedom and peace and security and prosperity all over the world, an America in which we are building an American community of all our people together. And we are better off than we were 4 years ago because we've been pursuing that course.

There is a very different vision being presented in all honesty and candor by my opponent and the leaders of the other party. I believe we have to build a bridge to the future big enough and strong enough for us to all walk across together. He said he wanted to reach back and build a bridge to the past.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. They believe there's something inherently oppressive about the American people deciding to do things together that we can't do on our own. And they think you're better off being told you're on your own. I believe the First Lady was right when she wrote it takes a village to raise our children and build our future. That's what I believe.

Audience members. Hillary! Hillary! Hillary!

The President. But you have to decide. Four years ago, I came to New Mexico and the people voted for the Vice President, Al Gore, and me and gave us a chance to serve. Four years ago, you took me on faith and the word of my friends in New Mexico, including many who are on this stage. Now there is a record, and we know the difference. We have a record. My opponent has a record. The leaders of his party in Congress have a record. We know what has happened in our country when our policies have been put into effect. We know that they said my economic program would wreck the economy and increase the deficit. But we've reduced the deficit in all 4 years of a President's term for the first time in the 20th century. Incomes are up after 10 years of stagna-

tion; homeownership at a 15-year high; the deficit at a 15-year low; the combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages at a 27-year low; child poverty, the biggest drop in 20 years; and 10.7 million new jobs. Our approach is right, and theirs is not. The evidence shows it. There is evidence.

When I offered the American people a tough crime bill to put 100,000 police on the street and take drugs and gangs and guns off the street, the other guys, they said the 100,000 police would never happen, it would do no good, and all I wanted to do was to take away weapons from sportsmen and women. Well, they got a lot of votes saying that, but that was 2 years ago. Now we know. We've had 4 years of declining crime rates, the lowest crime rate in America in a decade. Not a single sportsman or woman has lost a weapon, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers couldn't get handguns because of the Brady bill or assault weapons. It was the right thing to do.

Now, there are a lot of other good things that have happened: almost 2 million fewer people on the welfare rolls; child support collections up 50 percent, \$4 billion a year. That is what we have tried to do. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million Americans. Twenty-five million Americans have been told now you can't have your health insurance just taken away from you because you changed jobs or someone in your family gets sick. We passed a bill that said that no more can mothers and their newborns be kicked out of the hospital after 24 hours by the insurance companies. We passed legislation to help small-business people take out pensions and afford health care. We did things that—we gave a \$5,000 tax credit to families that will adopt a child that needs a home, and I hope more people do as a result of it. We're moving this country in the right direction.

Now, there's something else I had to do in the last 4 years—really, in the last year—that Jeff Bingaman and Bill Richardson had to help me with. When our friends in the other party won the Congress, they got to try to put their vision into effect. Their vision was a budget which cut Medicare 3 times more than the trustees said was necessary to stabilize it and ran the risk of creating a system in which the oldest, the poorest, and the

sickest of our seniors were left behind. Their budget would have ended a 30-year guarantee that we as Americans have made to the poorest children, to our seniors in nursing homes, to families who have family members with disabilities that we'll help them with health care. Their budget contained the first cut in education in modern history, cutting everything from Head Start to student loans and Pell grants.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Their budget would have paralyzed our ability to protect the environment and to continue to advance the cause of environmental protection while growing the economy. And to boot, they raised taxes on 8 million of our hardest pressed working people and authorized corporations to raid their workers' pension funds after we should have learned in the eighties that we shouldn't raid our pension funds, we should protect them. That's what I've worked to do.

That was their budget. And I vetoed it, and they shut the Government down with no thought to the consequences. And they said, "Oh, the Democrats will cave." And I said, "I'd a lot rather see the American people inconvenienced for 3 or 4 weeks than hurt for 30 or 40 years. We will not cave. This is wrong."

Now, you have another decision to make. And you have to decide what you believe because you have in this district a Member of Congress who voted right down the lines on those issues with the Speaker of the House. They even voted to repeal the commitment to put 100,000 police on the street. It was unbelievable. They voted to repeal the national standards to guarantee quality health care in our nursing homes.

Now, I don't think you have to believe that the people who did this are bad people. I think they honestly believe that there's nearly nothing we should do together; you're better off on your own. But you do have an alternative, someone who believes that we ought to go forward together, Shirley Baca. And I hope you'll help her go to Congress.

Now, here we are at the end of this election, and we found out today that we got another 200,000 jobs this month. That brings it to 10.7 million new jobs since I took office.

Any my opponent says we've got the worst economy in 20 years.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Now—don't boo. Just 2 weeks ago, he said we had the worst economy in 100 years. So he's made an argument for my reelection. After all, how many people can make up 80 years in 2 weeks? I appreciate that. I appreciate that.

The truth is he was right earlier this year when he said we had the best economy in 30 years. But we all know that there is more to do. We all know that we're not exactly where we ought to be if we're going into the 21st century with everybody having an opportunity to make the most of their own lives, with all citizens acting responsibly, with America coming together closer and closer as an American community.

Your vote will decide the direction of this country. In a matter of enormous consequence, you have a clear choice between people who honestly believe in what they are advocating. You have to decide whether they're right to offer a big election year tax cut that would blow a hole in the deficit, require even bigger cuts than the ones I vetoed last year, and raise taxes again on 8 million hard-pressed working people, or whether you like my plan to balance the budget, invest in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment, and give families targeted tax cuts we can afford.

You have to decide. You have to decide whether Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich were right when they opposed the family and medical leave law as an unwarranted burden on business, or whether I was right to say I think the most important challenge most families have to meet is how they can do their jobs and then do their number one job at home in raising their children. I believe, in a world where more and more parents are working, where the American people are spending more hours at work today than they were 25 years ago, there is nothing more important than giving people the security of knowing if they can succeed at their most important job—raising their kids—and still do well at work.

Now you have some evidence. We passed the family and medical leave law over their opposition. And 3½ years later, over 12 mil-

lion Americans have used it when a baby was born or a family member was sick. We've had record numbers of new small businesses, record numbers of new businesses owned by women and minorities, and 10.7 million new jobs, a faster job growth rate than under any administration of the other party since the 1920's. We were right. We were right.

And I believe we ought to expand the family and medical leave law to say people can have a little time off from work to go see their children's teachers twice a year and take them to doctor's appointments. I believe we ought to strengthen our families by continuing to improve health care. In their budget plan, because they blow a hole in the deficit and require bigger cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, they can't do anything to deal with the remaining challenges of health care. Under our plan we will add another million children to the ranks of the insured—I might say, something terribly important because Hispanic families' children are the most likely not to have insurance for health care even though they are working. It's important to put more children in the ranks of health insured, and I intend to do it.

Our plan will help families when they're between jobs to keep their health insurance for 6 months. Our plan will provide free mammograms to women on Medicare. Our plan will provide respite care to help those 1.7 million families who are struggling honorably and lovingly to care for a family member with Alzheimer's. Our plan will do that, balance the budget, and pay for targeted tax cuts. I hope you'll help us pass our plan on Tuesday.

There are many other things your vote will decide on Tuesday: whether we continue and finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street; whether we continue to try to protect our children from the dangers of guns and gangs and drugs and tobacco by supporting the safe and drug-free schools act, by supporting the 100,000 police, by supporting the first administration ever to say we have got to stop the tobacco companies from marketing and selling cigarettes to children illegally. You will decide.

You will decide whether we continue to move people from welfare to work, not only by passing the law which I signed which re-

quires able-bodied people to move from a welfare check to a paycheck in 2 years but which acknowledges that you cannot require people to take work if the work isn't there. We've got to create those jobs for the people to have. We have a strategy to do it; you will decide.

You will decide whether at long last and after 4 years of effort we will finally pass meaningful campaign finance reform to reduce the influence of huge financial interests in political campaigns that cost too much and undermine the confidence of the American people. You will decide.

You will decide whether we continue to make the water clearer, the food purer, the air cleaner, whether we continue to preserve our most precious natural resources or whether we say, as they do, every time you protect the environment you hurt the economy. We have proved with cleaner air, safer food, safer drinking water, protecting our natural heritage that we can grow the economy while preserving the environment. And in the 21st century the only way you'll be able to grow the economy over the long run is to preserve the natural heritage of the United States of America. But you must decide.

Most of all—most of all you must decide whether you believe we are going to give the same access to world-class education to all of our children. You must decide. I am very, very proud of this administration's work in education, expanding Head Start, raising standards, promoting reform, passing national service, lowering the cost of college loans and improving the repayment, increasing Pell grants by the largest amount in 20 years, adding 200,000 new work-study grants. I'm proud of that, but there is more to do.

You will decide. You will decide whether we're going to teach every 8-year-old in the country to read by the third grade by the 21st century; 40 percent of them can't now. I want to mobilize a million volunteers, including 100,000 of those 200,000 new students who will get work-study money to go to college. Will you help me teach the 8-year-olds in New Mexico to read? [*Applause*]

You will decide—you will decide whether we hook up every classroom and library in every school in America to the information

superhighway, to guarantee that for the first time in history—whether children live in the poorest rural areas, in the poorest inner cities, in the suburban or big city school district; whether they're rich, middle class, or poor; whether they're Hispanic, white, Native American, African-American, or you-name-it—for the first time, we've got a chance to make sure every child in America in every classroom gets the same information, in the same way, in the same time at a world-class level. We can do it. It will revolutionize education. You will decide.

You will decide—you will decide whether for the first time we truly open the doors of college to every American. I want to do three things. Number one, I want to make at least 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school diploma is today. And we can do it. We can do it simply by saying people can deduct dollar for dollar from their tax bill the cost of a typical community college tuition for 2 years. I want to give families the opportunity to save in retirement accounts and withdraw from them with no tax penalty if the money is used for health care, home buying, or sending a child to college. And something that will affect virtually all of you—I want families to be able to deduct up to \$10,000 a year for the cost of college tuition at any college in the country, undergraduate or graduate, for people of any age.

But you must decide. You must decide. And more than anything else, you have to decide how we're going to get there. They say, "There's a tough world out there, but there's a lot of opportunity. So if you can go down in the valley, cross the rushing river, and climb the mountain, I wish you well." I say we'll all be better off if we roll up our sleeves and build a bridge to the 21st century big enough, wide enough, and strong enough for all of us to walk across together. Will you help? [Applause] Will you be there Tuesday? [Applause]

Thank you. God bless you. Let's go get it. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:40 p.m. at New Mexico State University. In his remarks, he referred to Bruce King, former Governor of Arizona, and his wife, Alice; State Senator Mary Jane Garcia; J. Michael Orenduff, president, New Mex-

ico State University; and Elizabeth Shirley Baca, candidate for New Mexico's Second Congressional District. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address

November 2, 1996

Good morning. Today I want to talk about something I believe is particularly important to our Nation as we prepare to vote on Tuesday. Many people treat elections as opportunities to divide us. But I believe this election can unite us to go forward together. When we come together to find common ground, we are stronger as a nation and there is no challenge we can't meet.

Just over 5 years ago, I announced my candidacy for President. It was a time of deep and widespread frustration in America. Unemployment was high. The deficit was out of control. New jobs were scarce. Our values seemed under assault from every direction. And to many it seemed our problems were unsolvable: Rising crime would overwhelm us; broken families trapped on welfare would never break free from the cycle of dependence; fear and hatred would force a permanent wedge between Americans of different backgrounds and beliefs. Washington, caught up in blame games and tangled in politics, was unable or unwilling to act. I believed it was time to stop asking who's to blame and start asking, what are we going to do about it?

I had a simple strategy: Reject old labels, false debates, and divisive politics. Instead, strengthen America's basic bargain: opportunity for all Americans, responsibility from all Americans, and a stronger community of all Americans. That's how Vice President Gore and I have tried to approach everything we've done for the last 4 years.

When it came to the budget, the old politics of division demanded a choice between balancing the budget and living up to the obligations we owe to one another and to our future. We said, that's no choice; we have to do both. We have to balance the budget to keep our economy growing strong, and we have to protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment.

We've cut the deficit for 4 years in a row by 63 percent, to its lowest level in 15 years. But we protected the health of our parents and grandparents, we invested in the education of our children, and we protected our environment for future generations. Together America has created 10.7 million new jobs and 4½ million new homeowners. Unemployment is at 5.2 percent, and the average family income has risen \$1,600 in just 2 years.

Now we have to finish the job and balance the budget while we continue to protect our values. My balanced budget plan eliminates the deficit by 2002, while protecting our values by strengthening Medicare and Medicaid, expanding our investments in education, protecting our environment.

When it came to fighting crime, the old politics of division demanded a choice between more police and tough penalties, or effective prevention and fewer guns on the street. We said we need more police and tougher penalties, but we also need effective prevention and fewer guns on the street. So we're putting 100,000 new police officers on the street. We passed "three strikes and you're out" and the death penalty for drug kingpins and cop killers. We banned assault weapons, passed the Brady bill, and fought for safe and drug-free schools.

Two weeks ago, the FBI reported that crime had dropped 4 years in a row to a 10-year low. Now we have more to do to keep crime dropping for 4 more years. We have to finish putting 100,000 police on the street, target violent gangs, ban bullets whose only purpose is to pierce the bulletproof vests of police officers.

When it came to welfare reform, the old politics of division demanded a choice between strict time limits and work requirements, on the one hand, and child care and creating jobs for people to move, on the other hand. We said, we need time limits and work requirements because welfare is supposed to be a second chance, not a way of life. But we also need to work together to create jobs, because if we expect work we have to make sure people have a chance to work.

Well, today there are nearly 2 million fewer people on welfare than there were the

day I took office. In August, I signed historic welfare reform legislation that would change the welfare system forever. Now we have a responsibility to make the most of this opportunity to lift millions of families from welfare to work. And I have a plan to move a million more people from welfare to work over the next 4 years.

When it came to our American community, the old politics of division was at its worst. Instead of bringing people together around common values, the old politics of division tried to drive wedges between us, to take advantage of our fears. We must never let that happen again.

Unfortunately, here at the end of the election, some people are tempted to take advantage of these issues for political advantage. I say to them, we've seen the results of this before. The politics of division yields only division and gridlock. The search for common ground yields solutions and progress and a future worthy of our past.

So whether you belong to the party of Lincoln, the party of Jefferson, whether you're independent or unaffiliated, remember that most of all you belong to the community of America. We are all in this together. We will rise or fall together. So let us build a bridge together, wide enough and strong enough to carry all of us into the bright future that is America in the 21st century.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 5:40 p.m. on November 1 at Las Cruces International Airport in Las Cruces, NM, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on November 2.

Remarks in San Antonio, Texas

November 2, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you. Good morning, San Antonio.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, I'm glad to see you here in large numbers. I'm glad to see you here in high spirits. I'm glad to see so many young people here, for this election is about you. My heart is full of gratitude today.

Thank you, Congressman Henry Gonzalez, for what you said and for so many years of

exemplary leadership. Thank you, Congressman Kika de la Garza, Congressman Frank Tejeda. Thank you, Governor Dolph Briscoe, for being here and for all the help that you have given to us. Thank you, Texas Democratic Chair Bill White. To Senator Carlos Truan and the other members of the legislature here; my longtime friend Wilhelmina Delco. To our congressional candidate Charlie Jones and—[applause]—a little there. And thank you, Victor Morales, for your long, courageous struggle.

Thank you, Linda Chavez-Thompson, for coming home, the first woman ever elected to national office at the AFL-CIO. Thank you, Secretary Federico Peña, for your great job at the Department of Transportation, for coming here to be with us. Thank you, Ann Richards. And I want to thank whoever organized the program so I didn't have to speak right behind her. [Laughter] Thank you, my old friend Garry Mauro, for being there for me for over 20 years now. And I want to thank some of the other folks who have come here to be with us today, and I'd like to ask them to stand: Jimmy Smits, Esai Morales, Johnny Canales, Jeff Valdez, Liz Torres, and Tommy Lee Jones. Thank you all for being here. Thank you.

I thank the Texas Victory Democrats for the work you have done and the work you will do between now and Tuesday. And again let me say, as Hillary has already said, a profound word of thanks to Henry Cisneros for the work he has done for America these last 4 years. I'm delighted to see his parents here, and I'm glad Mary Alice came. And I want the people of San Antonio to know you would have been so proud every day of them for the last 4 years. I go places all over America, far from San Antonio; mayors, people who build housing, people who work in law enforcement come up to me and spontaneously say, Henry Cisneros is the finest Secretary of HUD we have ever had in the history of the United States. Everywhere they say it.

I was in Miami the other day, and man said to me, "There are hundreds of people who are no longer homeless. You could walk down streets at night that used to be littered with people spending the night. They aren't there anymore because we had a dream and an idea and Secretary Cisneros supported us

and we took the homeless people off the street."

I was in the another part of the country the other day, and people said, "We were absolutely overwhelmed with substandard public housing infested with gangs and guns and drugs. And Secretary Cisneros helped us to tear it down, get rid of it, and build new housing for people to live in dignity and raise their children in an environment in which anyone could be proud of."

Ladies and gentlemen, I did want to come and stand in front of the Alamo on the last weekend of the last campaign of my entire life. I wanted to come here because I have such vivid memories of this place. Twenty-four years ago, I remember, in October, Congressman Gonzalez and I, when I was a very young man, on a Saturday morning like this, after we'd had a dinner at the Menger Hotel, got Congressman Hale Boggs up in the morning, and he got on a plane and flew to Alaska, to his death. There was something in your local paper about it.

I have vivid memories of all the times I have ever been here. I remember in 1992 when I came here, and then along toward the end of the campaign, some of my friends from Texas put about \$200 worth of that mango ice cream on my plane, and we all ate it until we couldn't walk. I got a little to take with me today, too. [Laughter] I remember so many things. But this place, the Alamo, has always symbolized to me the transformation of Texas, the transformation of America, and the best hope for our future. The Alamo is not just a place of great personal courage, it is a place of great standoff in the beginning between two nations and two peoples. And the story of the Alamo over the last 160 years and the story of San Antonio is the story of the reconciliation and friendships between two great nations and two great peoples here in Texas and throughout the United States. It is a great, great story.

We represent people who believe that by working together and helping each other we can all do better. Franklin Roosevelt, as Henry reminded me this morning, built your wonderful Riverwalk during the Great Depression. Lyndon Johnson did teach in Cotulla, not very far from here, where he

learned what it was like to be poor and Mexican-American.

We have always come out of a tradition that believed that if we worked together to give each other the tools—not a guarantee but a chance—to make the most of our own lives, this country could move closer to its ideals and we would all be better off than if we just said, “You’re on your own.” When we come together and search for common ground we are always, always stronger as a nation. There is nothing we can’t do.

Now, in 3 days before this election, I really believe more than anything else what is left is not about the evidence, it’s about the attitude. It’s not so much about the mind as it is about the heart. You know, 4 years ago, Al Gore and I asked you to take a chance on us when we said, “We’re going to change the direction of this country. We’re sick of the politics of division in Washington. We want to create more opportunity for everybody, demand more responsibility from everybody, and create an American community of everybody, where everybody’s got a role to play and a place at the table.” You just took a chance; you didn’t know. But now we have a record.

Four years ago, we had high unemployment, widespread frustration, rising crime, increasing family breakdown, rising welfare rolls, fears, hatred, and people had given up on being able to do anything about any of our problems. I was determined to start a new direction for this country, to stop pointing fingers and say, “Here’s my hand. I don’t care whether you’re a Democrat or Republican or what you are. If you will work with me to make this country a better place, I’ll work with you, but we’ve got to take along everybody. We’ve got to give every single person a chance.”

Now, you didn’t know; you just took a chance. But look at the evidence. We have 10.7 million new jobs in America; 5.2 percent unemployment; rising incomes for the first time in a decade. The deficit has gone down in all 4 years for the first time in the 20th century, down 63 percent. Homeownership is at a 15-year high. We have nearly 2 million fewer people on welfare. Child support collections are up 50 percent across the country. The crime rate has gone down for 4 years

in a row; it’s at a 10-year low all across America. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million people. We’ve protected people from losing their health insurance if they’ve been sick or somebody in their family has been sick or they changed jobs. We said hospitals can’t kick mothers and newborn babies out of the hospital after only 24 hours anymore. Twelve million people took advantage of the family and medical leave law and got to take a little time off from work when a baby was born or a family member was sick, without losing their jobs. This country is in better shape than it was 4 years ago. We are moving in the right direction.

Let me ask you something—this is an affair of the mind and the heart. When it was published yesterday that we had 210,000 new jobs in America, my opponent said we’ve got the worst economy in 20 years. *[Laughter]* I tell you what, I’ll take that bet. I ask every person in Texas who believes it is the worst economy in 20 years to vote for Senator Dole, and every person who knows better to vote for me. I’ll gladly take the results of the election in Texas.

Now, just 2 weeks ago, my opponent said that we had the worst economy in 100 years. *[Laughter]* So I think he’s campaigning for me now. I mean, after all, who else could make up 80 years in 2 weeks? I think we’re doing pretty well.

All this is not a matter of the evidence. What do you think the Republicans would be saying if they had a President who had presided over an administration that had cut the deficit by 63 percent, that had the highest job growth rate of any Republican administration in 70 years, that had the lowest average unemployment in 20 years, the lowest average inflation in 30 years, the biggest decline in income inequality among working people in 27 years, the lowest combined rates of unemployment and inflation since Lyndon Johnson was President 28 years ago? If they had a record like that, what do you think they’d be saying? They’d be saying, “It is morning in America.” *[Laughter]* They’d be saying that the President can virtually levitate. *[Laughter]*

Why? Why are they doing what they’re doing? Why is the election in doubt? Why aren’t we ahead in Texas in the polls? It is

an affair of the heart. It is because we have practiced the politics of division for so long, we have tried to turn our opponents into aliens. We have been told, "Oh, those Democrats, they don't really believe in work and being tough on crime and all that." This is an affair of the heart.

And I tell you, this country does well when we find common ground, when we build bridges together, when we acknowledge it takes a village. And when we say we're on our own and our opponents are our enemies and they're no good and we need to be divided from one another, we always pay the price. Look at the history of the Alamo in the last 160 years. Does anyone doubt it is better now that we are joined together with our friends in Mexico and together with each other than it was 160 years ago?

And so I ask you to get people to think differently and feel differently about this. Look at the budget choices. You bet I did veto their budget; it was bad for America. It would have divided us. And when they shut the Government down, I thought about the Alamo. They said, "Oh, the President will cave; he won't be able to stand having the Government close." We had this economy rocking along. We were number one in automobile production for the first time since the seventies. And they were threatening to default on our debt and wreck the economy. They said, "Oh, he'll blink." And I said, "You know, I'd a lot rather see the American people hurt for 2 or 3 weeks or 2 or 3 months than 20 or 30 years; shut her down. I'm not going to buy your budget; I'm not going to let you do it; it is wrong."

But you have to understand. What they believe the old politics of division is, "We've got to have a tax cut, and so it's unfortunate but we'll just cut education and paralyze environmental protection and take away Medicaid's guarantee of health care to people with disabilities and poor children and wreck the Medicare program, because we've got to have this other thing; it's either/or."

I believe we can find common ground, we can balance the budget, have a targeted tax cut for people who really need it for education, for childrearing, for home buying, for health care, and still protect education, the

environment, Medicare, and Medicaid. That's common ground.

Now, the old politics of division used welfare as a whipping boy, you know, "Everybody on welfare is lazy; nobody wants to work." And then people on the other side said, "Oh, no, no, they're good people; we've got to take care of their children." I said, "Why do we have to choose between beating up on a system that doesn't work and protecting children? Why can't we do both?" We have moved almost 2 million people from welfare to work. I signed a bill that protects health care and food and gives more for child care and then says we've got to create jobs for people who are able-bodied to change the welfare check to a paycheck. And I've got a plan to put another million jobs into the cities to create those jobs and then require people to take them. That's the new politics of common ground.

The old politics of division on law and order was all, you know, "Talk tough. Don't do anything, but talk tough. Get tough on criminals." And then the opponents would say, "All they care about is being nice to people and trying to keep people out of trouble in the first place." I said, "Well, that's the dumbest thing I ever heard of. Why shouldn't we try to keep our kids out of the trouble in the first place and still do things that will be tough on serious criminals?"

So we passed the crime bill to put 100,000 police on the street, to take assault weapons off the street, to tell fugitives and felons and stalkers they couldn't buy handguns and protect the rights of people who were hunters and sportsmen to have them, and to give our children something to say yes to in prevention programs and to support safe and drug-free schools. Why was it punishment or prevention? Why was it division? Why, if you wanted to help kids stay out of trouble, were you soft on crime? We proved you could do both. You know what? We got 4 years of declining crime, the only Democratic ticket in history to be endorsed by every major law enforcement organization in the country because common ground is better than division and it works. It works.

The biggest problem I see with this, as we go into the future, is that nearly every family I know, even people with very good incomes,

has faced some conflict between their responsibilities as parents and their responsibility at work. Everywhere I go in this country people talk to me about it. I believe we have to create an America where you can succeed at home and work.

This is a good example. When I was trying to pass the family leave law and Senator Dole and Congressman Gingrich were leading the fight against it, they said I was interfering in the economy; I would hurt the economy; I would burden the economy; we would undermine our recovery. We've got a higher rate of job growth than any Republican administration in 70 years, record numbers of new small businesses, and we've protected 12 million families. I think we ought to help people succeed at home and at work. That's the new politics of common ground.

I think we've done the right thing to help families with this new requirement of more educational television and a television rating system. I think we've done the right thing to try to fight against Republican cuts in the safe and drug-free schools program. We need more people out there telling kids that drugs are wrong, illegal, and can kill you, not fewer people. We don't need fewer people. And we did the right thing to be the first administration in history to stand up to the tobacco lobby and say, "You can't advertise and sell cigarettes illegally to children anymore. You're killing them." It was the right thing to do.

I believe we are doing the right thing whenever we work together. You know, they honestly believe on the other side that you can't grow the economy while protecting the environment. That's what they really believe. I'm not telling you they're bad people; they believe that. I know; I've talked to enough of them. They honestly believe it.

But look at the record. We've taken tons—millions of tons of chemicals out of the air in the last 4 years. We have improved our drinking water. We have raised standards for our food. We've cleaned up lots of toxic waste dumps. We've protected more natural heritage. And the economy is growing faster because we can grow faster if we have sensible, proper environmental protection and public health. That's the right way to do that.

I want you to just look around today. I'm telling you, that's what this is all about. If I were a Republican President—after all the rhetoric they've used—with a declining deficit; a growing economy; a declining crime rate; declining welfare rolls; no Russian missiles pointed at our kids, by the way; and a stronger America with a stronger military, they'd be saying it's morning in America. But they love to practice the politics of division.

Look at the Alamo, folks. Think of Bosnia. Think of Northern Ireland. Think of the Middle East. Think of all those tribal wars now going on in Africa. Think of your own history. The great thing about this country is that in our best moments, we say, "Our differences don't matter as much as our shared values. And everybody who believes in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence is part of our America. If you show up for work, if you show up for school, you do what you're supposed to do, we don't need to know anything else about you. You are part of our America." That is what I believe.

So I want you to go out between now and Tuesday and say, "Listen, this country is moving in the right direction. The President has good plans for the future, but most important, we have got to build a bridge to the future that is wide enough and strong enough for all of us to walk across, and we've got to do it together. That is the question. We must be together. Build common ground, reject division, and build that bridge with us."

Thank you, San Antonio. God bless you. And be there Tuesday.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:12 a.m. at the Alamo. In his remarks, he referred to former Governors of Texas Dolph Briscoe and Ann Richards; Carlos Truan, Texas State senator; Wilhelmina Delco, former Texas State representative; Charles Jones, candidate for Texas' 23d Congressional District; Victor Morales, Senatorial candidate; Garry Mauro, Texas land commissioner; Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry Cisneros' wife, Mary Alice; and entertainers Jimmy Smits, Esai Morales, Johnny Canales, Jeff Valdez, Liz Torres, and Tommy Lee Jones.

Remarks in Little Rock, Arkansas

November 2, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, first of all, let me say it's good to be home, and thank you for coming out to say hello. I want to thank the Parkview High School Band, the Central High School Band, the Little Rock Community Choir. I want to thank all of those who are up here on the platform with me. I don't have everybody's name up here; I don't know if I can remember without eyes in the back of my head. I never needed eyes in the back of my head until I moved to Washington. [Laughter]

I'm glad to be here today. I have just come from a great rally in front of the Alamo in San Antonio. And we were in El Paso, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, California on the day before that. I'm on my back across the country, from here to New Orleans and then on to Florida. But I wanted to stop here just to be with you once before this election to say a special word of thanks to my good friend David Pryor for his lifetime of service to our State, to Congressman Ray Thornton for his lifetime of service and to wish him well on his new service on the Supreme Court. Thank you, Ray.

I thank my good friend Dale Bumpers. Folks, I don't know what I'd have done in the last 4 years if it hadn't been for Dale and David up there keeping me sane in the tough times, standing up for you and for what was right, and never being intimidated by some of the most overbearing and destructive tactics I have ever seen coming from the other side.

I want to thank Sharon Priest and Lottie Shackelford and Julia Peck Mobley and Gus Wingfield, Charlie Daniels, Mayor Dailey, Mayor Hayes, Judge Villens. Thank you, Charlie Cole Chaffin, for running for lieutenant governor, and good luck to you. You were terrific. Bynum Gibson, my long-time friend Jimmy Lee Fisher, who was the coordinator of my campaign in the First Congressional District in 1978. We've been together a long time. Thank you, Jimmy Lee.

I read an article in the paper today, our morning paper here, saying that if the past was any precedent, it might be a mixed bless-

ing for Winston Bryant and Vic Snyder and Marion Berry and Ann Henry for me to be coming down here today, because Arkansas people didn't really like for the President to tell them how to vote. Well, I couldn't tell you how to vote when I was Governor; I don't know how I'm going to start now. [Laughter] It never occurred to me to tell you how to vote. I will say this, since he asked me for it, I'm going to give Vic Snyder my vote on Tuesday. I'll be here, and I'll be proud to vote for him. And I'll be proud to vote for Winston Bryant, and I wish I could vote for Marion and Ann.

Let me say to all of you, you ought to vote for yourselves, your children, and your future on Tuesday. But you need to understand that while all four of these people are friends of mine and I have worked with them and I know them very well, what you really should be voting on is what you want our country and this State to look like when we start that new century just 4 years from now.

We're about to have a Presidential election for the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. And the stakes could hardly be greater. We're actually very fortunate because not only are the consequences large but the choice is so clear.

I really don't like a lot of what's happened in politics in the last several years. I don't like the fact that, especially when you get down toward the end and people get desperate, they think the only thing to do is to try to convince you that their opponent is no good. The truth is, since you all started me out 22 years ago, it has been my experience that most people who do the public's work are honest people, they work hard and they do what they think is right, virtually all the time—in both parties. That's been my experience. And what I want to talk to you about today is that there are honest differences here. You know, I worked with Representative Hutchinson when he was in the State legislature; I liked him. We had a cordial relationship. Hillary and I send our prayers out to Tim and his wife for the welfare of their son. I know all of us feel that way, without regard to party. We ought to get away from this idea that we have to demonize our opponents in order to clarify our differences.

This is—and I appreciate what Winston said about that, you know. But don't worry about me. Every time I get down I remember—when they start picking at me I remember what Mark Twain said about a dog. Mark Twain said, “Every dog ought to have a few fleas”—[*laughter*]—“keeps him from worrying so much about being a dog.” [*Laughter*] Some days I feel I have more fleas than I wish I did, but don't worry about that.

Here's what the issue is, and you saw it in that budget fight we had when they shut the Government down and I vetoed the budget. This is about two different ways of looking at how we are as a people and how we're getting to the future. They believe that we're better off being on our own. And if we do good things together, that's fine. But it ought to basically be a question of letting everybody just go out there and do the best they can.

I believe that we do better when we help each other to have the tools to make the most of our own lives. Every politician I ever knew would try to give a speech every now and then trying to convince you that he or she was born in a log cabin that they built themselves. [*Laughter*] But the truth is there's not a one of us standing here today who'd be here if it weren't for the help of some other people. And I believe America is better when we work together to give everybody the tools to live up to the fullest of their God-given ability to keep our country a strong force for peace and freedom and prosperity and to give us a chance to live together in one community. That's what I believe. And that's the difference.

That's why the real issue is, should we say we're on our own or should we build a bridge to the future we can all walk across together? That is the issue. That's the issue in all these Congress races. That's the issue in this Senate race. That is the issue.

I think they believed what they were doing when they passed that budget. I think they thought it was a good thing to give people like me a tax cut even though I didn't need it and cut Medicare and Medicaid. Let me just say, those words may not mean much to people. What they tried to do was to end the standards for nursing home care that David Pryor spent his entire life working for.

They thought that was an inappropriate thing for us to be doing together, saying that there's some things that every senior citizen in every nursing home and every place in America ought to know that they can get if the Government is paying, through the taxpayers' money, to put them in a nursing home. I think David Pryor was right and they were wrong.

They wanted to take away the guarantee that we had given for 30 years to middle class families who have family members with disabilities so they can care for them, they can live at home, they can work, and they can have a decent life. They wanted to forget about that guarantee. They wanted to take away the guarantee of health care we've given for poor women and their little infant babies. And I think it was wrong. They did—they wanted to cut the student loan program, cut Head Start, paralyze our ability to protect the environment, clean air, and clean water. That's what they wanted to do, and I think they were wrong.

But you have to decide whether they're right or not. I read all this stuff in the press about how Arkansas is, you know, more Republican or more Democrat, both parties are worried, and all that kind of stuff. Let me tell you, when I went up there 5 years ago and one month from tomorrow, when I announced for President here in Little Rock—I got a quote here of what I said. I said I wanted to go to Washington to do a better job of the old-fashioned work of confronting the real problems of real people and pointing the way to a better future: more opportunity, more responsibility, a stronger community.

Well, 4 years ago, the rest of the country took me on faith. You were the only people that knew exactly what you were doing. [*Laughter*] The rest of them took a chance. The rest of them took a chance.

But when you think about which approach works, when you think about Ann Henry, who's been our friend forever—she and her husband, Morris, hosted Hillary and I—our wedding reception in their home, and I've been wondering how many votes it was going to cost them in the election. [*Laughter*] But they did a great thing for us, and we'll never forget it. When I think about Marion Berry—I don't know how many times that Dale and

David and I have been in Marion Berry's home for the coon supper at Gillette, but he's been with us all the time. He did a superb job at the Agriculture Department. When I think about Vic Snyder and all the votes that he cast in the Arkansas State Senate to give our children a better future and our State a stronger economy and make our environment stronger; when I think about Winston Bryant and the work that he did as secretary of state, as lieutenant governor, as attorney general—all the work we did together, all those years that we worked together, and I realize that they believe in the approach. And now you know whether it worked or not.

It's inconvenient for our friends in the Republican Party, but we do have 10.7 million more jobs than we did 4 years ago. It is inconvenient for them that this is a faster rate of job growth than under any Republican administration in 70 years. It's inconvenient. We have the lowest deficit of any great country in the world, the lowest it's been in America in 15 years. Our average unemployment rate is the lowest it's been in 20 years; our average inflation rate is the lowest it's been in 30 years. We've had the biggest decline in income inequality among working people in 27 years, the lowest rates of unemployment and inflation together, the so-called misery index, in 27 years. This approach is working. That's why you ought to send him to Congress; it is the right thing for America. We need to keep going on this track.

We had 4 years of declining crime rates. The crime rate in America is at a 10-year low. There are 2 million fewer people, nearly, off welfare than there were 4 years ago. Child support collections in America are up 50 percent, \$4 billion a year. This approach is working.

Now, it's interesting to me that right before this Congress had to go home and face the voters, they all of a sudden decided they like my agenda. So now they're home running on the fact that even though they opposed it, finally we did raise the minimum wage for 10 million people; we passed a health care reform bill that says you can't have your health care taken away from you just because you changed jobs or somebody in your family has been sick; said the insur-

ance companies can't kick mothers and their newborn babies out of the hospital after a day.

Those were good things. It is a good thing. But that's what we should have been doing all along. And I'm telling you, this is not—and let me just say this. One thing it isn't, this race, it is not about conservative or liberal. The crime bill we passed had 100,000 police. It had the death penalty for drug kingpins and people that killed police officers. It has "three strikes and you're out." It also had, as you know, the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. And they made a lot of hay out of that in Arkansas.

Do you remember 2 years ago? Now, you know they were going around Arkansas saying, "Oh, that Clinton's gone crazy. He went to Washington; now he's going to take your gun away." Well, it's been 2 years, and now we know there's not a single hunter in Arkansas that's lost a weapon, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers didn't get handguns because of the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban—don't need to be on the street in Little Rock. They don't need to be here.

Now we know. So vote for yourselves, but this approach will work. There's still a lot of things we have to do. Your vote—don't be deluded here. There are huge consequences to your vote. What would America look like—Dale Bumpers is right—what would America look like if their budget had prevailed? If their budget had prevailed it would have been a clear message: "You're on your own; we're going to be more divided. Those of us that are well-positioned, we're going to do better. And those who aren't, well, they'll do worse and it's just tough."

Now, that's what would have happened. And when they shut the Government down, they thought that Dale and David and Ray and I, they thought we'd wilt. They thought that the Democrats would just be miserable not having the Government open every day. They were even willing to bring us to the point of default, the people in that Congress were, to wreck all the economic progress we'd made because they thought we'd wilt. And you know what I told them? "I'd a lot rather see the American people hurt for 20 or 30 days than for 20 or 30 years. You have

at it; I'm not going to buy that budget. You can forget about it."

Now, you have to decide. But how you vote in these races will determine whether we do what I want to do, which is to balance the budget and still protect Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment, or adopt their scheme of an even bigger tax cut which would still raise taxes on 9 million of the hardest pressed working people in America and blow a hole in the deficit and require bigger cuts than the ones I vetoed. You have to decide.

You have to decide whether we are going to continue to put 100,000 police on the street. This is an amazing thing—you ask the mayors that are here; this is amazing. First they tried not to put 100,000 police on the street. Then they tried to do away with it in their budget. Then they tried to cut it back a third time. And I stopped them every time. I'd like to have somebody up there in Washington who believes in law enforcement and would like to make our streets safer. If we have 4 more years of declining crime, we might have every neighborhood, every street, every school, and every child in this country safe again. And that's what I want. And that's what they want. And I hope you'll give us a chance to do it.

There's a lot more to do in health care. Our balanced budget plan has some things in health care reform that they'll never be able to do. But I turned it in, in a balanced budget plan: let families keep their health insurance for 6 months when they're between jobs, put another million children into the ranks of health-insured, free mammograms for women on Medicare, and a little help for respite care for the 1.7 million families who are courageously helping to care for family members with Alzheimer's disease. These are important things. They won't do it, and we will. If you want that done, you better vote for them. That's what's at stake here.

But let me say this, of all the issues—and you know them well—the biggest issue before us involves these children here, and that's the question of education. What is their plan for education? Abolish the Department of Education. Do you really want that?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Do you believe America can afford to be the only great country in the world to start the 21st century with no one even sitting at the President's Cabinet to speak for the children of America?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. That's their position. My position is hook every classroom in every rural school in Arkansas and every inner-city school up to that information superhighway and give those kids access to world-class education, open the doors of college education to all Americans.

You want to talk about a tax cut—the most important tax cut we could give is to let people deduct the cost of a typical community college tuition from their tax bill. That would open 2 more years of education to every American. Let people deduct \$10,000 a year for college tuition at any college in America then every young person and every grownup who needs to go back to college could afford to go.

That is the choice. And you just have to decide. And I'm telling you, when you go in there on Tuesday, when you talk to your friends and neighbors and you go back home—there are people here from all over this State, from all of our congressional districts—you tell them that it's exactly what is on the line here. Are we going to do this together, or are we going to be driven apart?

You know, so much—when I left here I couldn't have known exactly what challenges would confront me as President, in terms of foreign policy especially. I'm grateful that the United States has been a force for peace. I'm grateful that we've been able to open new markets for American products and we're selling more American products than ever before. We're number one in auto production now for the first time since the 1970's. I'm glad we've been able to do these things.

But it's amazing how much time I have to spend with people around the world doing things that we try to teach our children not to do. People all over the world—you look at the Middle East or Bosnia or Haiti or Northern Ireland or all those tribal wars in Africa and all this. What is this about? People hating each other because they're of different religions, different races, different ethnic groups, and different tribes. Everything you

try to teach your kids not to do—you know, treat everybody with respect and define yourself in terms of what you believe, not who you can look down on. There are people all over the world now who are literally consumed with hatred for other people because they're in different groups.

And if we get divided, that will happen more. That's why I spoke out so strongly against hating people who worked for the Federal Government after the tragedy in Oklahoma City. That's why when all these church burnings occurred, we got on it and we tried to stop it and we tried to get after it. And that's why I want you to think about that, too. How long were we held back in this State because black people and white people couldn't get along? How long?

Audience members. Too long!

The President. How long will we be held back in the 21st century if we say, "We're not going to work together. I want mine; you get yours. There's the future; I hope you make it." Hillary was right, it does take a village to raise our kids and to build our future.

The world is changing in ways you can't imagine. Arkansas will change in ways you can't imagine. No one can fully perceive the implications. When I became President, 3 million people were making a living in their homes. Today, because of computers, 12 million people are making a living in their homes. Four years from now, 30 million people will be making a living in their homes.

In the last 4 years, we've found two genes that cause breast cancer, and if we're lucky, we may be able to find enough genetic information not only to cure breast cancer but to prevent it. We're using a lot of these satellite, sophisticated imaging technologies now to beam into bodies to see if we can find out what's wrong with people before any of their problems get out of hand. We just found out that we could make a laboratory animal with its spine severed have movement in its lower limbs by transferring the nerves from the legs to the spine. None of this has ever been done before. We're building a supercomputer, the Government is, with IBM that will do more calculations in one second than you can do on a hand-held calculator in 30,000 years.

I'm telling you, the world is changing. And for us to go back to the old politics that the other side is preaching, trying to convince people that their opponents don't share American values, that they're aliens from outer space, that everything the Government ever did was wrong, is nuts.

We have to stand up for a bright future. The best days of this country are still ahead. But we'll only achieve them—we will only achieve those days if we define carefully what we should do together. But I'll say again, it's not about liberal and conservative. I want you to tell your friends and neighbors this when you go home: We have reduced the size of the Government to its smallest size since Kennedy was President, more than the last two Republican administrations did. We eliminated more Government regulations and more Government programs than the two Republican administrations did. We privatized more Government operations than the two Republican administrations did. This is not about liberal or conservative. We have run by far the most fiscally conservative Government, and we've done more to stand against crime. And we've stuck up for this country in having a strong foreign policy.

I think the record will stand on its own. This is not what that's about. This is about whether you're going to be diverted and divided, or whether we're going to find common ground and build that bridge to the 21st century together. You're got enough sense to figure out how to talk to your friends and neighbors about that between now and Tuesday. Don't let the people of Arkansas be diverted from the real issue. This country is better off and this State's better off than it was 4 years ago. It's going to be better off 4 years from now if we stay on the right track to build that bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:50 p.m. on the tarmac at Central Aviation Services at Adams Field. In his remarks, he referred to Senators David H. Pryor and Dale Bumpers of Arkansas; Sharon Priest, Arkansas secretary of state; Lottie Shackelford, vice chair for women's advocacy, Democratic National Committee; Julia Peck Mobley, first vice chair, and Bynum Gibson, chair, Arkansas Democratic Party; Gus Wingfield, State auditor; Charlie Daniels, State land commissioner;

Mayor Jim Dailey of Little Rock; Mayor Patrick Henry Hayes of North Little Rock; Buddy Villens, Pulaski County judge; Jimmy Lee Fisher, State treasurer; Winston Bryant, senatorial candidate from Arkansas; Vic Snyder, candidate for Arkansas' Second Congressional District; Marion Berry, candidate for Arkansas' First Congressional District; and Ann Henry, candidate for Arkansas' Third Congressional District.

Statement on the Tentative Agreement Between the United Auto Workers and General Motors
November 2, 1996

I congratulate and applaud the United Auto Workers and General Motors for putting in the intense effort and long hours that led to this tentative agreement. Their hard work and ultimate success are a tribute to our system of collective bargaining. They have proven once again that when labor and management work together, they make our businesses, our working families, and our economy stronger. I am very hopeful that the tentative agreement will be ratified and that the outstanding local issues will quickly be resolved so that everyone can get back to work.

Remarks in New Orleans, Louisiana
November 2, 1996

The President. Can you hear me in the back? [Applause] Wave your hands. Look back there. What a great crowd we have tonight. Thank you, New Orleans, for coming out. Thank you for your support. Thank you for the little song down here. Let's thank these fine young men who sang the national anthem again. They were great, the students who are here.

Reverend Morton, Mr. Mayor, thank you for making me feel so welcome here. Thank you for your exceptional leadership. Thank you for taking up for the children of New Orleans and trying to make them safer when the Sun goes down. I appreciate that.

My good friend Congressman Jefferson, thank you for being there with me in the dark days as well as the bright ones. Representative Cleo Fields, thank you for your service in the Congress, your support for me

and Mary Landrieu and all of our other candidates. And thank you especially for going all over America to mobilize young people to vote to reelect Bill Clinton and Al Gore. Thank you, sir. My great friend John Breaux, to whom I owe so much—if you support John Breaux, as I think you do, you will elect Mary Landrieu just to keep a smile on John's face. I don't believe I could bear the thought of seeing what it's going to be like for John. [Laughter]

Ladies and gentlemen, I have come here tonight with a heart full of gratitude to all of you for giving me the chance to serve as President, for giving me the chance to do what has been done in the last 4 years, and to ask you to keep America on the right track to the 21st century and to help me build that bridge that we can all walk across together. Will you do that? [Applause]

It is hard to believe, on the banks of this great river that has seen so much history, that the United States is about to elect the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. But we are. We are about to do something even more important, for in this election and the race for the Senate and other races all across America we are going to decide just how we're going into that 21st century, whether there will be a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past; whether there will be a bridge that we all walk across together, where we try to help each other make the most of our own lives, or whether we'll say, "You're on your own"; whether we will rise up as one people seeking common ground, or whether we will give in to the old politics of division that has bedeviled people of Louisiana and Arkansas and our whole region for too long in the past.

Now, that is what is really at issue here. We know what works. Four years ago, everyone except the people in my own home State and the Louisianians that lived near the border took me on faith. I said we would create more opportunity and insist on more responsibility, that we'd pull closer together in an American community, and everybody would have a place and a role to play. But you took me on faith. Now we know what works.

We have 10.7 million more jobs than we had 4 years ago. The deficit has gone down

by 63 percent all 4 years for the first time in the 20th century. Our exports out of the Port of New Orleans and elsewhere are at an all-time high. More than half the new jobs are in high-wage categories. Wages are going up again for the first time in a very long time. We've had a 27-year—a 27-year—best combined rates of unemployment and inflation. You have to go all the way back to 1968—that's 28 years, isn't it? You weren't even born. That's the best it's been since you've been alive. We had the biggest drop in inequality among working people, more people sharing in the bounty of America in 28 years, the biggest drop in childhood poverty in 20 years, the lowest rate in poverty among our senior citizens ever recorded. We are moving in the right direction. We don't need a change; we need to bear down.

We have more children in Head Start. We've got a better college loan program that costs students less and gives them more opportunities to repay it as a percentage of their income, a 20-year high in Pell grant scholarships, the AmeriCorps program giving young people a chance to serve and earn money for college. We've got a 10-year low in the crime rate. We have 2 million fewer people on welfare and a 50 percent increase in child support payments. We are moving in the right direction right across the board. We need to bear down and do more.

Now, in the face of this my opponent would have you believe that the world is coming to an end. It was announced yesterday that we had—or the day before—we had 210,000 new jobs last month alone. And his response was, "This is the worst economy in 20 years." Now, wait a minute, it's not all bad. Just 2 weeks ago, he said we had the worst economy in 100 years. That's the best argument I've heard for my reelection. Who else do you know could make up 80 years in 2 weeks? We're moving in the right direction toward the 21st century. But we are moving in the right direction because we're doing a lot of things together—together.

I appreciate so many things that have been said tonight, but I come here to tell you that I am not solely responsible for the good economic news or the declining crime rates or the declining welfare rolls, but we have played a role. And that is the issue. So many

of our friends on the other side, and especially people way on over there like Mary Landrieu's opponent, they don't believe there is much of anything we should do together. But I believe there are.

And the great thing about this election for you is that the choice is so clear and the consequences are so great. So you have to decide in the President's race and in the Senate race, do you want to balance the budget and have a targeted tax cut for education and childrearing and protect Medicare and Medicaid for folks with disabilities and poor children, our seniors in nursing homes? And do you want to protect our ability to have clean air and clean water and clean ground and a safe future? [Applause] And do you want to protect our investments in education and technology and our future? [Applause]

Well, then you just have one choice, because if you go the other way, you'll get a very different future: blowing a hole in the deficit, increasing interest rates, weakening the economy, bigger cuts than those that I vetoed.

Audience member. That's why we've got you! [Laughter]

The President. You're good. Keep going. [Laughter]

I think one of the most important things we have been able to do is to help more people, millions of people, fulfill their obligations to their children and to their workplace. When we passed the family and medical leave law, my opponent said it would hurt the economy. He said it was terrible. He tried to kill it. But we passed it.

Well, now we know; 3½ years later, 12 million families have taken a little time off for the birth of a baby or the illness of a family member, and they didn't lose their jobs. And what have we had: 10.7 million new jobs and record numbers of new small businesses. We were right. Their approach was wrong. We should help each other make the most of our own lives. We should help people succeed at home and at work. We ought to let people take some time off to go see the teachers of their children twice a year and take their kids to the doctor as well. When people earn overtime, if somebody in the family is sick, they ought to be able to decide whether to take the overtime in money or

take it in time at home taking care of their families. We have to help people succeed at home and at work.

We ought to continue to support the safe and drug-free schools program so people will be in our schools telling our children early, before it's too late, that drugs are wrong, illegal, they can kill you. I support that. They tried to cut it in half, and they'll try again unless you have somebody like Mary Landrieu who believes our kids are entitled to be kept out of trouble in the first place and saved for a better, brighter future.

We are in the middle of a great national effort to try to stop the big tobacco companies from marketing and distributing tobacco illegally to our children. Three thousand kids start smoking every day illegally, and 1,000 will die sooner because of it. We are trying to stop it. That is not done yet. My opponent opposes that. The election will determine whether we see that through. We are supporting people like your mayor all over the country and working to support projects like the curfews and school uniform projects and anything else that will help keep our kids in a safer way.

We're trying to put 100,000 police on the street. We've only funded half of them. Our opponent opposed that. Then they abolished it in the budget that I vetoed. Then they tried to cut it again. Now, the crime rate is coming down every year in part because we have more people walking the streets in uniforms working with their neighbors, working with the kids, preventing crime from happening. Why in the wide world anybody would want to stop it is beyond me. I guess that's why every major law enforcement organization in America for the first time supported Bill Clinton and Al Gore for reelection. If you want to keep that going, support people like Mary Landrieu who believe we should have community policing and safer streets and futures for all of our children.

We want a future in which we grow the economy and clean the environment. We've taken millions of tons of chemicals out of our air, set aside unprecedented lands for national preservation, raised the standards of food safety, raised the standards for drinking water purity, and cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than they did in 12.

But there's still 10 million kids in this country living within 4 miles of a toxic waste site, and if you'll help us, we'll clean up 500 more in the next 4 years so that we'll be living next to parks, not poison.

But your vote will decide, for they had a very different view. They wanted to change the law and say the polluters don't have to pay anymore for what they do; the taxpayers should pick up the whole tab—never mind that all the money wasn't there, we might never get around to cleaning up a lot of these dumps. You have to decide.

And there is no decision more important than the one you'll make with regard to the education of our children and our adults in the future. I'm glad there are so many young people here, because this election is about you. Now, what is their program? Well, when they had a chance, they cut Head Start and they cut student loans and they voted to eliminate the Department of Education. And when I vetoed their budget, they said they believed in it so much they shut the Government down. And they said, "Oh, John Breaux and Cleo Fields and Bill Jefferson and President Clinton, they just love the Government; they'd never let it get shut down," all their rhetoric, you know. And you know what I told them? "I hate to see you shut this Government down; I hate to see you hurt the Federal employees; I hate to see you interrupt essential services. But I would far prefer to see the American people hurt for 20 or 30 days than to see them hurt for 20 or 30 years. I'm not going to sign this budget; it will not be the law of the land, because I don't believe families who happen to have family members who are living in wheelchairs should be denied Medicaid and the right to have a middle class lifestyle and because I don't believe we should cut college scholarships and loans."

What's our program for the future? What's our program for the future? I want to ask you to help me do this. Now, you think about the future. We are living in a time where the winds of change are not just blowing on the Mississippi, they're blowing everywhere in the world. We're having dramatic changes in the way we work and live and relate to the rest of the world. That's how New Orleans can increase exports 30 percent in one

year. The world's not growing 30 percent economically in a year. New Orleans—the people who work here are taking the work of Americans and finding new opportunities exploding all over the world. When I became President, 3 million people were making a living by working at home every day. Today, 12 million are. By the year 2000, 30 million will be.

In the last 4 years, we've discovered two genes that lead to breast cancer. We may be able not only to cure but to prevent breast cancer because of the research that we're doing there. In the past few months, for the first time, laboratory animals with their spines severed have had movement in their lower legs by nerve transplants to their spine from other parts of their bodies. We may be able to see people get up and walk that thought they'd never be able to do it again. We are literally bursting the frontiers of knowledge.

Their education program is to abolish the Department of Education——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. ——and cut funding to our public schools. My education program: 200,000 more work-study places for young people in college; get a million volunteers, including 100,000 college students on work-study, to teach every young person in this country to read a book by the time that he or she is 8 years old; hook up every classroom in a Louisiana school, no matter how poor the district is, to the information super-highway so all our kids can get access to world-class learning for the first time in history; and open the doors of college education to all Americans. Will you help us do that? [Applause] Will you help Mary Landrieu have a vote in the Senate to do that? [Applause]

Think of it, folks, in just 4 years, we can make 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school diploma is today simply by saying you can deduct dollar for dollar on your taxes the cost of a typical community college tuition; all you have to do is show up and make your grades and do your work. I want to give a \$10,000 tax deduction per year for the cost of any college tuition after high school for people of any age. Will you help us do that? [Applause]

Now, again I say, you want to know what the differences are between the efforts I'm making and the efforts that Senator Dole is earnestly and honestly pursuing? I don't like all these personal attacks. I think it's just kind of a political deal. We just honestly disagree. The difference in my position and his, the difference in Mary Landrieu's and her opponent is that if you look at the family leave law; if you look at the 100,000 police on the street; if you look at the Brady bill, which kept 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers and now will keep people who beat up their spouses and their kids from getting handguns; if you look at our new college loan program; if you look at the targeted tax cuts for college, we believe that we're a better, stronger country when we work together to help each other have not a guarantee but the tools to make the most of their own lives. They believe you're better off on your own. You have to decide. Will you stand with us? Will you fight with us? Will you build that bridge to the 21st century with us? [Applause] We need you, Louisiana.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:08 p.m. at Woldenberg Park. In his remarks, he referred to vocal group As Yet; Bishop Paul Morton of St. Stephen's Full Gospel Baptist Church, who gave the invocation; Mayor Marc H. Morial of New Orleans; and Mary Landrieu, senatorial candidate from Louisiana.

Remarks in Tampa, Florida

November 3, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much. I feel good today, do you? [Applause] Thank you. Reverend Washington; Presiding Elder Reverend Andrews; Governor Chiles; Congressman and Mrs. Gibbons; our fine congressional candidate, Jim Davis, welcome, sir. We're proud of you. To my other friends who have joined us in this church today, and to all of you, thank you for making us feel so welcome here in the house of the Lord.

I was sort of tired when I came in, and I got into the music, and then we started singing about the little shack by the railroad track—[laughter]—and I said a lot of us in this house of God have lived in a little shack

by the railroad track. And we did have a good time. My grandfather used to joke with me that if we didn't have any better sense than to know we were poor, we could have a good time. [*Laughter*] And we're having a good time today.

I'm honored to be in this historic pulpit which has been graced by Martin Luther King, Thurgood Marshall, Adam Clayton Powell, Jackie Robinson. I am humbled to be here. And I would like to say, first and foremost, I thank you, all of you, for giving me the chance to serve as the President of the greatest country in human history for the last 4 years. Thank you. Thank you.

In just 2 days all of us together will go to the polls to select the last President of this unbelievable 20th century, the century of the civil rights movement, the century of two great World Wars and the Great Depression, the century of the cold war, a century of more bloodshed than any in history, but a century of remarkable progress as more and more people move toward the realization that all of us are created equal in the eyes of God, are entitled to live as equals in the eyes of God—the masters of our fate, save only in subjugation to our God.

And with a vast new century stretching before us we know that the world is changing in ways we cannot fully understand. Just think about all the changes you have seen here in your community in the last 4 or 5 years. Think about the changes technology is bringing in the way we work and live and relate to one another and the rest of the world. Think about how much more involved in the rest of the world we are today than ever before.

We have a decision to make that goes way beyond the vote on Tuesday. And frankly, it goes way beyond Democrats and Republicans, way beyond even the choice for President. It goes far out into the future and deep into the human heart. We have to decide as a people how we're going to keep walking into that 21st century and whether we will say to each other, "You're on your own," or we're going to build a bridge together so that everyone has the tools to make the most of his or her own life. And we have to decide whether we're going to build that bridge on the shifting sands of division or on the strong

rock of common ground. I believe I know what your decision would be.

I was so glad to hear that wonderful passage from John about the Pool of Bethesda. When I went to the Holy Land for the first time about 15 years ago, I was looking for the Pool of Bethesda because it's a great remembrance that when the angel whirled the waters and made it possible for people to go there and find healing power, Jesus thought the healing power ought to be given even to the one who could not even get to the pool. No one was left out. Even the one who could not even get to the pool was given the healing power of the Spirit. That is a lesson for us.

When people tell me, well, some people just aren't going to make it, I say that's true, but it ought to be their fault, not ours. It ought to be their fault, not ours. We can't give anybody a guarantee in life. Even the man crawling to the pool had to believe. His body wouldn't move, but his mind would. So I don't seek to give anybody a guarantee, but I think everybody ought to have a chance.

You know, after the events of the last week, when we are divided we defeat ourselves. How heartbreaking it is on this Lord's day that there is still no peace in the Holy Land. A year ago tomorrow, the Prime Minister of Israel was murdered by one of his own people because he sought to bring peace to the Holy Land. The place where the three great religions of the world that believe we are all created by one God, all of us and all of our differences are created by one God, claim as holy, they're still fighting over religion.

In Bosnia, a place where the ethnic groups are divided into three by accident of political and military history, not because they are biologically distinguishable, they're still fighting over their differences. Science has not gotten in the way of believing that they are inherently different. That's what they believe. In Africa today, the Hutus and the Tutsis share poor lands—with poor children who desperately need the product of earnest, sustained, loving, cooperative labor—somehow find it more profitable to slaughter each other and make the land poorer.

Well, that's why when our Federal Government employees are singled out for ha-

tred, when a horrible tragedy like Oklahoma City occurs, when a black or a white church is burned or a synagogue or a mosque is defaced in America, we must stand against that, because we know that we are all in this together, that we are going to rise or fall together, that we have a duty to help each other in our work, in our family, in our lives as citizens, a duty to live in a way that enables us to find common ground and a responsibility to give everyone else the opportunity to go over that bridge with us into tomorrow.

Now, President Lincoln once paraphrased Jesus' sermon in St. Matthew when he said, "The house divided against itself cannot stand." I didn't have time to go back and read it today, but I believe that the whole verse says "A city and a house divided against itself cannot stand"—not Tampa, not St. Petersburg, not Washington, DC, not the United States of America. Four years ago, when I asked for this job, I was worried because our people were divided and dispirited and as a result we were not doing together what we should have been doing to lift our economy or deal with the whole array of problems plaguing our society, involving so many of our children, of their futures.

Now, I know I am preaching to a choir today—[laughter]—but in the next 2 days we need the choir to preach. [Laughter] We will never be what we ought to be if we allow our country to be led by those who believe we are better off on our own and who seek to pursue that path by driving wedges between us and exploiting our fears and convincing us that our brothers and sisters of different races, different faiths, different walks of life are our inherent enemies. That is the prescription for disaster in the Holy Land, in Bosnia, in Africa, and in the United States. And we have only become greater at each stage along the way because every time we had to face the music we chose common ground over the shifting sands of division. And that is what we must do again in this season of our decision.

We have seen the results of the politics of division and gridlock, but now we have seen the results of the politics of opportunity and responsibility and the common ground we seek to build in our American community. We have more jobs, a lower deficit, higher

growth, the highest rate of homeownership in 15 years, the highest rates of homeownership and small business ownership among African-Americans, other minorities, and women in the history of America. It turns out giving everybody a chance, not a guarantee but a chance, is good for the rest of us.

While all these big numbers were occurring, we've seen the biggest decline in inequality among working people in 27 years, the biggest drop in child poverty in 20 years, the lowest rates of poverty ever recorded for senior citizens and African-Americans since the statistics have been kept. It is the right thing to do for all the rest of us to see that everybody has a chance, just as the man struggling for the pool at Bethesda was given his chance.

We are seeing the benefits of greater responsibility: The welfare rolls are down; the crime rate is at a 10-year low. We see in so many other areas—4 years of declining teenage pregnancy, the first drop in out-of-wedlock pregnancy in 20 years, community efforts building up all over the country, more and more people going in our schools to tell our children that drugs are wrong and illegal and can kill you, more and more citizen efforts working with the police to try to help keep the streets safer, more and more communities doing things to try to help our young people stay out of trouble like curfew policies or even school uniform policies and other things. These experiments going on in America, people working together to try to find ways to be responsible citizens. And every place it is done we are better off.

We're seeing a deeper sense of community—trying to preserve our natural environment for our children and our grandchildren. I thank Governor Chiles for the work he has done on the Everglades. Every person in Florida, in the farthest northern corner of Florida has a stake in that. Every person in the farthest northwest corner of America has a stake in saving our common heritage.

We see it in so many other ways. We have been moved by the enormous upswelling of American conviction in the aftermath of Oklahoma City, the reaction to the church burnings being so negative. Our common sense, whenever it prevails to bring us together as a community, makes us stronger.

And I really believe we're on the verge of the most exciting period in human history. But we can't forget what brought us here, because it will take us home. So the trick for us is to find out with God's wisdom how to seize all these fabulous opportunities that are out there in a way that enables us to move closer to our values.

It is really true that none of us live by bread alone. I don't know any serious person who's lived long enough who believes that with all the bread in the world you can be really happy. *[Laughter]* On the other hand, it's important not to be too self-righteous. I always say one of my rules of politics is whenever you hear a person standing on a corner screaming, "This is not a money problem," sure as the world he's talking about somebody else's problem, not his. *[Laughter]*

So we need to be a little humble about this. But we have work to do. If you think about what our children can do, if we could put every child in America, from the poorest inner cities to the most remote rural areas, in a classroom with a computer that was hooked up to the entire information super-highway, then for the first time ever every child in America would have access to the same learning in the same way at the same time. That would revolutionize what our children could do, all of our children.

If we could put a million citizens with 100,000 more police and walk the blocks together, we could have not 4 years but 8 years of declining crime and all of our children could feel safe on their streets and in their schools and in their neighborhoods. We can reclaim our streets. Four years ago millions of people did not believe we could ever do anything about rising crime. Now we have no excuse. We know we can bring it down for 4 years, but we know we have to have about 4 more years before it will be tolerable to live in still a lot of our places. But we can make our streets safe again, we know that. But we'll have to do that together. And we can do that in the future.

We know that we're breaking down the frontiers of ignorance in so many ways that will help us to cure cancer, that will help us to find ways to grow our economy while we improve our environment, that will help us to find ways to create jobs for people who

have never been able to get them before. But we have work to do. I signed a law that says that everybody on welfare who's able-bodied will keep getting health care and food and child care if they go to work, but if they're able-bodied, they've got to trade the welfare check for a paycheck in 2 years. That's the law. But now we have figured out something we haven't really been able to figure out for a long time, which is how to give jobs to people. You can't tell people they have to go to work unless there's work for them to find. So we've got work to do.

We know we've got work to do in building our American family. We know there's still too many kids who don't think drugs will kill them. We know that 3,000 children start smoking every day and a thousand will die sooner as a result, even though it's illegal. We know that even though we have removed a lot of assault weapons from our streets and made it harder for criminals to get guns, there's still too many completely innocent children being killed. We know that even though we have demonstrated in our administration that you can have diversity and excellence—in my appointments to the Cabinet, to the Federal bench, and throughout the country—there are still too many people who are literally afraid to deal as equals with people who are different from them. We know that.

We know that there are still too many white people who wouldn't feel as comfortable as I do sitting in this church today. And that's wrong. They read the same Bible you do. They claim the same Saviour you do. They ought to feel at home here. We've got work to do. And you ought to feel at home in their churches.

So I say to you, we have work to do. Our best days are still ahead. But we must always marry our progress to the realization of our values. We have to take advantage of progress to move closer to living as we say we believe. We have work to do. And as we get closer and closer and closer to the election, the work passes from my hands to yours again. It's a very humbling thing for me, you know. If you ever doubt whether the people are the boss in the end in a democracy, run for office. *[Laughter]* Run for office. Even the the President is a hired hand—*[laugh-*

ter]—trying to get a contract renewed. [Laughter] It's a humbling thing. There is a power in freedom that you cannot underestimate. We take it for granted.

You know, now, in the last few years, for the first time in all of human history, more people are living in democracies on the face of the Earth than dictatorships. It's the first time in all of human history, just in the last few years. Think how far your ancestors walked, think how many bled and died to give you the right to vote. And think what a blessing it is that you are anchored in what you believe and that you are not subject to the wild winds that often blow through the airwaves at election time.

I ask you to let me share this story as I close. In 1992, when I was seeking this office, I was in a church much like this in Cleveland one night. It was a warm night, and the church was without air conditioner—at least the air conditioner was unequal to the hot air all the public officials were spewing out. [Laughter] And we were packed in that church. And it was one of those meetings, you know, where everybody there talked but three people, and they went home mad. [Laughter] Everybody talked. We all got to talk.

And the temperature rose, and people started wanting to get out. And the great pastor in that church stood up, who is a friend of mine, Reverend Otis Moss, one of America's great preachers; some of you may know him. And he started talking to the people about the simple act of voting. And he said, "You know, my father could not vote; the law did not allow him to vote. And finally, one day the law was changed, and he could vote. And he walked 7 miles to the polling place. But the people did not want my father to vote, and they said, 'Mr. Moss, you're at the wrong place.' So they sent him to another place, and he walked a couple of more miles. And they said, 'Mr. Moss, you're still at the wrong place.' And they sent him to another place, and he had to walk a couple of more miles. And when they got there, they said, 'Mr. Moss, the polls have closed.'"

And he said, "When my daughter was old enough to vote, I took her to the polling place, and we went together to two voting machines side-by-side. And I know you're

not supposed to linger in the ballot booth. But I couldn't vote. I put my ear right next to that booth until I heard my daughter vote. We don't miss votes at our house," he said.

This is a day that the Lord hath made; let us rejoice and be glad in it. And let us remember that here on Earth, God's work must truly be our own. We have work to do. But if we do it and if we remember, like Jesus, that even the man who could not reach the pool at Bethesda, we will all go forward on that bridge to the 21st century together.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:45 a.m. at St. Paul's A.M.E. Church. In his remarks, he referred to Rev. Leroy Washington, pastor, and Rev. Theodore Andrews, presiding elder; Gov. Lawton Chiles of Florida; Martha Gibbons, wife of Representative Sam Gibbons; and Jim Davis, candidate for Florida's 11th Congressional District. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks in West Palm Beach, Florida

November 3, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much, West Palm Beach. Thank you for being here today. Thank you for being there Tuesday; thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, on this beautiful Florida Sunday, we are just 2 days from electing the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. I thank you all for being here, for your care, your concern, for your love for our country. I thank especially my great friend and former colleague when I was a Governor, Senator Bob Graham, who is one of the finest public officials in the United States Senate today, someone you can be very proud of. I appreciate his support. I thank him for that wonderful litany. I'd forgotten I'd done some of those things myself. [Laughter]

I thank my friend Lawton Chiles for his passionate devotion to the people of Florida and for his fighting instincts when he and Buddy MacKay were down for the count, in 1994, in a very difficult year. And everyone said they were gone. They said, "We're not gone, we're right here. We've done a good

job, and we're going in the right direction. We believe the people of Florida will reelect us." And you did, and I thank you. For America and for Florida, I thank you. And I thank them.

I thank Buddy MacKay for being there for me from the beginning 5 years ago, Attorney General Bob Butterworth, Insurance Commissioner Bill Nelson, Agriculture Commissioner Bob Crawford, my friends, good public servants. And thank you, Bob, for your insistence on our doing something about the tomato problem. I'm glad we were able to do it, and you deserve a lot of the credit for it. Thank you very much.

I thank the congressional candidates who are here today, Jim Stuber, Ken Cooper, and Robert Wexler. And I thank Congressman Peter Deutsch for the fine job he has done in the United States Congress.

Bob Graham talked about the budget that our friends on the other side passed. And they said that if I didn't cave in to it, that they would just close the Government. And then they said, "You Democrats, you love the Government, you'll never let us close it down, and we'll put this budget right on you." And I said, "It's not me you're putting it on. I'm going to be all right. Most of my life is lived. It's the American people you're putting it on, and I'd rather have the American people inconvenienced by 30 days of Government shutdown than hurt for 30 years by that budget." And they stood by me, and I thank them, or we wouldn't have been able to do it.

I want to thank my good friend Jimmy Buffett for singing for me today. Wasn't he great? *[Applause]* Four years ago Jimmy Buffett came to Tampa and sang for us. I'm glad he's here today. I want to thank the Sun Coast High School Chargers Sonic Sound, the Santa Lucas High School Marching Chiefs. Thank you for being here.

And Madam Mayor, let me thank you. I have said all over this country that we are in a period of profound change in how we work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world. Some of the issues that have been discussed today already illustrate that. I have tried to say to all my fellow Americans that, even more than normal, this is not a race of party. It is a race of country; it is

a race about people. And Mayor, I'm honored to have the support of all the Republicans for Clinton and Gore around the country, and especially your support. Thank you very, very much. Thank you. I might say, if you pick your Newsweek tomorrow, you will see that your mayor was named one of the 25 mayors to watch in the United States. And I'm going to be watching her; I think you will, too. Congratulations.

On this beautiful Sunday we should be grateful to be Americans and grateful for the privilege we're about to have. I can tell you this: As we get closer and closer to the election, it becomes more and more obvious that in this great democracy you count more than all of us in elected office. And those of us like me are simply coming to you, the boss, to get our contact renewed. It is now up to you to make these judgments.

Four years ago, amid a time of high unemployment and rising frustration, rising crime and welfare rolls and increasing division, I came to you and asked you to give Al Gore and Bill Clinton the chance to change the course of America, to go beyond the tired old political debates that had dominated Washington for too long, to go beyond insults to issues, beyond the politics of who's to blame to a politics of what are we going to do together to make our country a better place. I asked you to help me create more opportunity, demand more responsibility, and create an American community in which all of you have a place at the table and a role to play. I said then and I say again today that I believe the central role of our National Government is to give you the tools to make the most of your own lives and to create the conditions of security and freedom and opportunity that will make us all a better, stronger people. And I said that I thought that we ought to have a smaller Government, but it still ought to be strong enough to give you those tools and help you when you need it.

We have worked hard for 4 years now, and you don't have to take us on faith anymore; there is a record, a record that is good and strong. And that is the fundamental fact. We enter this election day with 10½—10.7 million more jobs; the lowest combined rates of unemployment and inflation in 27 years;

the highest rates of homeownership in 15 years; with America number one in exporting and number one in automobile production for the first time since 1979—your country is number one again; with record numbers of new small businesses in every single year of the last 4 years; with declining poverty rates among seniors and African-Americans; with declining inequality among all people who are working, the biggest drop in income inequality among working people in 27 years; nearly 2 million fewer people on the welfare rolls; a 50 percent increase in child support enforcement; 4 years of declining crime rates, crime at a 10-year low. Folks, we are better off than we were 4 years ago, and we are moving in the right direction.

Now, I can't help noting on this Sunday that on the day that it was announced we had 210,000 more jobs, my opponent said that our economy was in the worst shape in 20 years. Now, that's not all bad because just 2 weeks earlier, our opponent said we were in the worst shape we'd been in in 100 years. [Laughter] So he's making the case for my reelection. I mean, who else do you know who could move us 80 years in 2 weeks? We're doing all right.

But let's face it. There is more to be done. We still have work to do to build that bridge to the 21st century. We still have work to do to make sure every American, without regard to race or religion or where they start in life, has a chance to live out his or her dreams. We still have work to do to make sure all of our citizens are acting responsibly. And we still have work to do to bring this country together as one community. I have tried to run this campaign in a way that would do that, to make this a campaign of issues and not insults. I thank Governor Chiles for what he said.

One of the more interesting aspects of the opposition's effort has been their obsession with my wife. [Laughter] Well, I'm obsessed with her too, but in a different way. And they think we're better off on our own. I think she was right when she said it takes a village to raise our children and build our future. And I want to say that Governor Chiles' announcement made two people in this audience especially happy, Hillary's mother and sister-in-law, my mother-in-law and sister-in-

law who are here, Dorothy Rodham and Maria Arias Rodham. Thank you very much.

We have work to do. Your vote will decide what we're going to do on that great budget issue next time. Let's look at the record. The record is, this is not about liberal and conservative. Ask Senator Graham or Congressman Deutsch. Our administration has reduced the size of Government to its smallest size in 30 years, more than the previous two Republican administrations. We have eliminated more Government regulations than they did, eliminated more unnecessary programs than they did, privatized more Government operations than they did.

What we were not willing to do was to have a budget that in the name of balancing the budget actually shifted resources to a few who did not need it, away from those who did need it to protect the integrity of Medicare and Medicaid, our investments in education, the environment, technology, and the future of the people of Florida and the United States of America.

And so now you will have to decide. This is part of your work because your vote will decide whether we pass our balanced budget plan and keep on bringing interest rates down and growing the Florida and the American economy and have a targeted tax cut we can afford, targeted to childrearing, to education, to buying a first-time home, to dealing with medical costs, but to do all that in a way that protects the integrity of Medicare, of Medicaid's guarantees to poor children, to families with disabilities, to seniors in nursing homes; continues to invest in giving us a world-class education; and protects our environment so that we can pave the way for the 21st century. Your vote will decide.

Now, they shut the Government down twice. If they had succeeded and we had caved in, we would have 3 times the cuts in Medicare that the trustees said was necessary to bail out the trust fund, costing the average senior family \$268 more a year in premiums and much more in out-of-pocket costs, in copays and deductibles that had nothing to do with saving Medicare. There's not a senior citizen in Florida that's not willing to do what it takes to preserve the integrity of this program. After all, American seniors have the highest life expectancy in the

world and now the lowest poverty rate on record. But I would say, folks, that is a high-class problem. Isn't that what we should be working for? People who can live longer and live better. So let's reform it, but let's don't wreck it. Your vote will decide that.

Their budget, if they had succeeded, would have stopped our commitment to put 100,000 police on the street, even though it's helping the crime rate to go down. It would have abolished the Department of Education. It would have cut college aid to thousands, hundreds of thousands of students. It would have let polluters off the hook for cleaning up their own pollution. They tried to force those cuts by shutting the Government down. In this election you have to say, "You can shut the Government down, but you cannot shut down our future. We will not permit it."

So when you vote on Tuesday, you're not just choosing a President. Your vote will determine the budget, and the budget will determine a large measure of our common future—a future with strong Medicare for our parents or not; a future where all our children can go to college or not; a future with 100,000 more police on the street or not. With your help we can build a future in which all Americans have the tools and the chance, not a guarantee but a chance, to make the most of their own lives. That is your decision. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? *[Applause]*

Over the opposition of the leaders of the other party we passed the family and medical leave law. They said, "Oh, this will hurt the economy; this will be a terrible burden on the economy." We said the biggest problem working families have today is finding a way to meet their obligations at work and do their most important job, which is to raise their own children with good values and a good future and a good life. And we believe you ought to be able to take a little time off when a baby is born or a family member is sick without losing your job. That's what we said.

Well, it was just a debate before. Now we know who's right; 12 million families have taken some time off under the family leave law; we have 10.7 million more jobs—the fastest job growth, faster than any Republican administration in 70 years—and record

numbers of new small businesses. We ought to expand the family leave law so people can have a little time off to go see the teachers of their children twice a year and take their family members to the doctor.

We passed health care reform in the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill, saying you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because someone in the family is sick or you change jobs. We passed a law that said mothers and newborn babies can't be kicked out of the hospital anymore after 24 hours.

Your vote will decide whether to embrace the balanced budget I have recommended, which gives free mammograms to women on Medicare, which gives help for respite care for the nearly 2 million American families caring lovingly and courageously for a family member with Alzheimer's, which adds another million children to the ranks of the health insured and helps working families keep their health insurance when they are between jobs for 6 months. Your vote will decide. Will you help me build that bridge? *[Applause]*

We've worked hard to protect our children. We've worked hard: We passed a law requiring new television sets to have a V-chip so parents could control what their young children see on television, because too much of it can be destructive for them. We have supported local school districts in things like school uniform policies, curfews, enforcement of their truancy laws. We've said if you drink and drive, you lose your license. And I'm asking every State to help me to deal with the serious problem of rising teen drug use by saying, if you want a driver's license, we want you to pass a drug test because we want to save our children from getting in trouble in the first place. We were the first administration ever to stand up to the problem that the tobacco companies cause when they market, advertise, deliver, and sell illegally tobacco to our young children. Three thousand kids a day start smoking; 1,000 will die sooner because of it. We have said no.

Now, on the V-chip, on the tobacco issue, we have been opposed by those from the other side. So your vote will decide. Will we stay with the V-chip? Will we stay with the fight to make our children tobacco-free? Will we stay with the safe and drug-free schools

program when our opponents tried to cut it in half, when we need more people like those D.A.R.E. officers in our schools telling our kids these drugs can kill you, they're wrong, and they're dangerous? *[Applause]*

We passed the Brady bill, the assault weapons ban, the commitment to 100,000 police. Your vote will decide whether we finish the job of putting those 100,000 police on the street, whether we target violent teen gangs, whether we ban bullets whose only purpose is to pierce the bulletproof vests of police officers. Your vote will decide, and we need your help. Will you help us build that bridge? *[Applause]*

We have reduced the welfare rolls by nearly 2 million and passed a welfare reform bill that says we'll keep giving poor people health care and food and child care when they go to work, but able-bodied people will now have to turn a welfare check into a paycheck within 2 years. It is a good law. It is a good law, but your vote will decide whether it happens, because if you don't want to hurt the children and you do want people to work, there must be work for them to do. We have a strategy to create another million jobs to move people from welfare to work. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? *[Applause]*

Your vote will decide whether we finish the job of saving the Everglades and whether we clean up 500 toxic waste sites where now 10 million American children are living within 4 miles of those toxic waste sites. Your votes will decide whether we continue to grow the economy while we preserve, indeed, improve our environment. Will you help us build a green environmental bridge to the 21st century? *[Applause]*

Your vote will decide whether we open the doors of college to all Americans, whether we let people deduct the cost of a typical community college education from their tax bill so we can make 2 years of college just as universal as a high school education is today. Your vote will decide whether we give people a \$10,000 tax deduction for the cost of any college tuition. Will you help us do that? *[Applause]*

Your vote will decide whether we hook every classroom in Florida up to the information superhighway so that for the first time

ever the poorest, the most middle class, and the wealthiest schools in America all give their children access to the same information in the same way in the same time.

Forty percent of our 8-year-olds still can't read independently, partly because we have so many children coming here whose first language is not English. That will be cold comfort to them when they get older and they can't learn. We've got 200,000 more work-study slots out of this recent Congress and the biggest increase in Pell grants in 20 years for college students. I'm going to ask 100,000 of those college students to go in as volunteers as a part of a million-person corps to make sure by the year 2000 every 8-year-old can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? *[Applause]*

So you see, my fellow Americans, this is a very important election. It will shape the way we work and live. The frontiers of knowledge are being dramatically expanded. The possibilities for people are greater than ever before. We're growing closer together with the rest of the world in ways that can enrich us as never before.

This is an election about country and people, not about our party. It is true that I'm a Democrat by heritage, instinct, and conviction, and as proud of it today as I have ever been in my life. But over the course of our history, at various times either party has had the job of bringing the American people and moving us together into the future. Abraham Lincoln was a Republican, but he kept our country together and helped us to abolish the curse of slavery. Theodore Roosevelt was a Republican, but he knew it was wrong for children to work 70 hours a week in factories when they ought to be in school. And he knew it was wrong to squander our natural heritage, and he knew it was wrong to let monopolies destroy the free enterprise system. He kept us together and moved us forward.

But today it is the responsibility of our party because of the ideas we established, because of the campaign we have run, because of the record we have made, and because of the ideas of those on the other side. They honestly believe we're better off on our

own. I believe we're better off building that bridge to the future together. And you have to decide.

Look around this crowd today. Look around this crowd today. We have people here of all racial, ethnic, and religious background. Around the world today, people are fighting and killing each other because of their tribal, their racial, their religious, their ethnic differences. Every day we pick up the paper and see new heartbreak in Africa, hundreds of thousands of refugees driven from their homes, based on tribal fights between two tribes that cross into three nations—where people who don't have enough right now to get along with their children, instead of working together to give their children a better future, choose to kill each other and starve their children.

In Haiti, a dictatorship threatened the right of some of the poorest but best people in the world to live up to their own dreams. In Bosnia, where the people are literally biologically indistinguishable, they're in different so-called ethnic or religious groups by accident of history, people were willing to kill each other and their children. And in the Middle East, the Holy Land for the three great monotheistic religions of the world, one year ago tomorrow a great Prime Minister of Israel was murdered by someone in his own country who hated—hated the cause of peace more than he respected the human life of his nation's great leader.

In America we can beat that. The American people said no to hating the Federal Government after the awful tragedy of Oklahoma City. The American people said no to racial and religious hatred in the face of synagogues and Islamic centers being defaced and black churches being burned. We have said no, and we must say no on Tuesday to the proposition that we are all a bunch of isolated individuals. We are one nation, one community, going forward into the 21st century. Will you help us build that bridge? Will Florida be with us on Tuesday? *[Applause]*

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. at the West Palm Beach International Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay of Florida; Jim Stuber, candidate for Florida's

16th Congressional District; Kenneth Cooper, candidate for Florida's 22d Congressional District; Robert Wexler, candidate for Florida's 19th Congressional District; and Mayor Nancy Graham of West Palm Beach.

Remarks in Union Township, New Jersey

November 3, 1996

The President. Wow. Thank you for coming out, standing in the cold, making me feel warm. Are you ready for a victory on Tuesday?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Are you ready to work until Tuesday for the victory?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Let me thank the Union High School Band for their music. Let me thank you for your music. Let me thank Christina Skleros—was she fabulous or what? *[Applause]* She did it for the Yankees, she's doing it for Torricelli.

Mayor Petti, thank you for welcoming us here. Governor Florio, Mayor Del Vecchio, Larry Lerner, thank you for running for Congress—thank you both. Congressman Payne, to all the other dignitaries who are here, let me thank you so much, all of you, for being here. I want to say a special word of thanks to my great friend Whoopi Goldberg for being there for us through this whole campaign. She has always been funny, and she has always been wise. But she is becoming wiser and funnier and more effective for her country, and I'm grateful.

Let me thank Senator Frank Lautenberg for his work, his support, and for standing for you. And let me say a special word of thanks to Bill Bradley. We've known each other a very long time now. I remember so well when he first ran for the Senate from New Jersey. I remember so many things about his distinguished career. He made a difference for New Jersey and a difference for America. He was what we want every public official to be. We wish you well, and we thank you, Bill Bradley. Godspeed; thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, I was trying to think what, if anything, I might say to all of you who are here, to the large number of

undecided voters who remain, to the young people—I know we have people from Rutgers and Kean College here, and I thank you both for being here—what I might say about Bob Torricelli that would have any impact. After all, this decision is New Jersey's decision, and I am just another citizen when it comes to voting and not even a registered voter here.

But I know three things I would like you to know. You know, I think our politics, as I have said many times, has become too personally negative. I think that there is this overwhelming temptation that I see too much in politics to convince the voters that the other people are not only wrong, which is a legitimate thing, but bad folks. I am 2 days from the end of the last campaign I will ever run. I have been more blessed than any American in my lifetime. I have received honors from the American people that no person could rightly claim to deserve. I have done my best to make this a better country. But I have to tell you, in those 20-plus years I have learned that most of the people who run for office in both parties are good, honest, hard-working people who love our country, who love their families, and who want to do what is right.

I must say I have—I can't say I've enjoyed but I have been awestruck by the protean battle that Congressman Torricelli and Congressman Zimmer have waged. They remind me of some battles I saw earlier in my youth when I wasn't sure either team would walk off the field.

But there are three things I want you to know that I know about Bob Torricelli. Number one, he is a ferocious fighter for what he believes in, and he believes in New Jersey. And you need somebody who will do that.

Number two, I have spent a lot of time with him in quiet, private moments when there were no cameras, no reporters, no press, no contributors, nobody from New Jersey, no one to impress, nothing to say. He has an extraordinary mind. He has an extraordinary understanding of our country. He thinks about the future. You need someone in the Senate that has the capacity to be a truly great positive force for the United States in the 21st century. Bob Torricelli could become a truly great United States

Senator and a great positive force for our country and for New Jersey in the 21st century. I hope you'll give him a chance to do that.

But third and, for the moment, most important, it has fallen to Bob Torricelli and those of like mind and to Al Gore and to me to make the case for America's future that always has to be made at a time of great change. We're going through a huge change in the way we work and live and relate to one another and the rest of the world. I'm sure that you've seen changes here in Union Township in the way families live. I can just give you one little example: When I became President there were 3 million Americans making a living by working at home. Today, because of computer technology, there are 12 million. By the year 2000, there will be 20 million.

Let me give you another example. When I became President there was no known medical treatment for stroke. Medical research has developed one. Two of the genes that cause breast cancer have been discovered. We may be able to eventually cure all cases and to prevent many because of that. For the first time ever, laboratory animals with their spines completely severed have had movement in their lower legs because of nerve transplants from other parts of their bodies to the spine. We're about to build a supercomputer with IBM and the United States Government that will do more calculations in a second than you can do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years.

When Hillary and Chelsea and I went to the Olympics to welcome all the teams from around the world, there were people from 197 different racial and ethnic groups there and national groups. The United States is the only great country in the world that has people in it from virtually all of those places.

This is a different world. It is new. It is exciting. It is full of new changes. And every time we go through a period like that, the great question is will we meet these challenges, will we seize these opportunities in a way that helps us to live more closely to those ideals we believe in and to grow as a country together as we go forward together.

Bob Torricelli will help us to do that. The approach we have taken will help us to do

that. The great difference here in this election is between those who believe that we're better off on our own and those of us who believe we're better off when all of us work to give each other the tools we need to make the most of our own lives and to build a better future together.

I do believe, as the First Lady said, it takes a village to raise a child and build a country and build a future. I do believe that we're always going to be better off when we build a bridge together to the future that's big enough and wide enough for us all to walk across. But make no mistake about it, in this last Presidential election of the 20th century and the first election of the 21st century, the decision is more important than ordinarily it is, not because of any of us but because of the sheer dimensions of the change through which we are living. We must make the right decision.

This is not an election of party, it is an election of nation and people. The Republican Party at times past has fulfilled this historic role for us. That's what Abraham Lincoln did when he gave his life to save the Union and to end the abominable practice of slavery. That's what Theodore Roosevelt did when he said it's wrong for children to work 70 hours in factories every week; it's wrong for them not to be in school; it's wrong to destroy our natural heritage; it's wrong for monopolies to destroy the free enterprise system. He did that. But today it is our party, it is our administration, and it is Congressman Torricelli who represent the view that we must meet these challenges together and go forward together. And that is the central issue in this election. If you doubt it, I will give you just a few examples.

The environmental example is an easy one for me. We have to prove we can grow the economy and preserve, indeed, enhance the environment. It is wrong, what they tried to do in their budget, to let polluters off the hook. They should pay and we should help to close all these toxic waste dumps that are compromising our children's future. We should do this together, and they should assume their responsibility.

Look at law enforcement. Their budget would have abolished our commitment to put 100,000 police on the street, but we have had

4 years of declining crime and the lowest crime rate in 10 years in the United States. If we can have 4 more, it might actually be safe for everybody to walk on the streets and play in all the parks and be in all the neighborhoods, and we could feel good about America's security again. We need to keep going in the direction we're going. We don't need to take a U-turn. You should stand with law enforcement and support our direction because it's right for America and it will make us a better place.

We need a growing economy to succeed and to do what is best for all of us. Four years ago you took me on faith in New Jersey when I said we could lower the deficit, still invest in an education, expand trade, and grow the economy. You took it on faith when I said, "This liberal-conservative debate doesn't make any sense. I'll shrink the size of Government, but I want us to be stronger, to grow together."

Now you know the evidence. We've got the smallest Federal Government since President Kennedy. We reduced more unnecessary programs and regulations than my two Republican predecessors. We privatized more Government operations than my two Republican predecessors, but we have a program that continues to invest in education, technology, and in our future. And we have 10.7 million new jobs to show for it, a 15-year high in homeownership, a 27-year low in the rates of unemployment and inflation combined.

This country is moving in the right direction. Help us keep it going. We don't need to take a U-turn. We need to balance the budget and have targeted tax cuts for what people really need and for the people who really need it, for education, childrearing, buying that first home, paying for health care. We don't need a big tax cut that they won't tell you how they can pay for, because it will blow a hole in the deficit, raise interest rates, and require bigger cuts in education, the environment, Medicare, and Medicaid than the ones I vetoed. So let's balance the budget, keep the economy growing, and secure the future of New Jersey's children. That's what's at stake in this election, and I want you to help us do it.

And finally, the biggest question of all, in a world that is changing like this, people will have to keep on learning for a lifetime. We have a program to give every child in America world-class educational opportunities, to open the doors of college to all, to hook up every classroom in America to the information superhighway so that every child in New Jersey without regard to income or race or region or national background can have access for the first time in the history of America to the same information in the same time in the same way. It will revolutionize education. Our plan is right, and their opposition to it is wrong. We need your help to build that bridge to the 21st century. We need your help.

We need your help to make sure that we allow families to deduct from their tax bill the cost of a typical community college tuition so everybody can have at least 2 years of education after high school, of any age. We need your help to give people a deduction for the cost of college tuition, of any kind of college tuition, so all people can go to college. We need your help to do that. And we'll get it paid back.

We need your help to make sure every 8-year-old child in this country can read, too. I have challenged 100,000 young people to take work-study money that we just appropriated to give them, to use that money to help teach our 8-year-olds to read.

We can do these things, folks, but we can't do them if we take the philosophy embodied in the budget they signed—they passed that I vetoed, and then when I vetoed it they shut the Government down, not once but twice, to try to force it on me. And they said, they will never—the President will never allow the Government to be shut down. And I said I'd rather you be inconvenienced for 30 days than hurt for 30 years. I will never let that happen to America.

You have to decide. You have to decide. So on this brisk New Jersey evening—[laughter]—when you see the flags blowing in the breeze, those are the winds of change of the 21st century. The best days of this country are still ahead of us.

The young people in this audience will have more opportunities to live out their dreams than any generation of Americans in

history. We will have more opportunity to promote peace and freedom and prosperity for ourselves and the world than any generation of Americans in history. But we must decide that we really believe down deep inside that there are things we must do together, and that we will all be better off if we give our people not a guarantee but a chance to become what God meant them to be and if we're willing to say, "We don't care anything else about you; if you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights; if you're willing to get up and go to work or go to school or do whatever you're supposed to do tomorrow; we don't care where you come from; we don't care whether you're rich or poor; we don't care what your racial or ethnic or religious background is; we don't need to know anything else about you, you are part of our America, and we are going to build an even greater future for the greatest country in all of human history."

Give us a chance on Tuesday. Give Bob Torricelli a chance on Tuesday. Give yourselves a chance on Tuesday. We need you, New Jersey. Be there.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:10 p.m. at the Union Township municipal building. In his remarks, he referred to 8-year-old Christina Skleros, who sang the national anthem; Mayor Jerome Petti of Union Township; Jim Florio, former Governor of New Jersey; Mayor David M. Del Vecchio of Lambertville, candidate for New Jersey's 12th Congressional District; Larry Lerner, candidate for New Jersey's Seventh Congressional District; and comedian Whoopi Goldberg.

Remarks in Springfield, Massachusetts

November 3, 1996

Thank you. Thank you. Well, hello, Springfield! Thank you. Thank you for this wonderful, wonderful welcome. Thank you for being here in such large numbers—I can't even see the end of the crowd back there. Thank you for being here in such high spirits. I thank especially all the young people that are here tonight. This election is about you.

My fellow Americans, it's a great honor for me to be here in this State which has been

so good to me and to our administration, a State which has given so much to our Nation. I have wanted to come here to this spot for a long time, and now that I see you here I don't know why it took me so long. I'm glad to be here.

Thank you, Mayor Albano, for making me feel so welcome. Thank you, Shannon O'Brien, for your remarks. Thank you, Congressman Kennedy, for warming up the crowd and for your support and your leadership. Thank you, Congressman Olver, and thank you, Congressman Neal. All three of these Members of Congress from Massachusetts stood up for America when the Government was shut down and the future of America was on the line and we were being asked to choose. We stood for your future and refused, refused to give in to the blackmail of this Congress, and they deserve your thanks forever. Thank you.

I want to thank all those who have performed here tonight: the West Springfield High School Band, the Pottenger School Children's Choir—they're here somewhere—and the Minutemen Marching Band. Thank you. I must say, this is the best sound effects I've ever seen. If I had another plane I'd just take them with me for the rest of the day.

I want to thank Senator Ted Kennedy for so many things. But you will never know what it was like these last 2 years, how close we came over and over again to having some people lose hard and give in, having some people give up on raising the minimum wage, having some people give up on finally saying that you can't lose your health insurance just because you changed jobs or somebody in your family's been sick, that we would give up on passing a law that says we're not going to let insurance companies kick women and newborn babies out of hospitals after 24 hours anymore. But Ted Kennedy never gave up. He never gave up, and he prevailed.

And thank you, John Kerry, for waging this long, courageous campaign many times against the odds, never giving up. Thank you for being a voice in Washington, for preserving our environment when it was out of fashion. Thank you for helping me to keep putting 100,000 police on the street when the Congress tried to stop us and we wanted a

safe future for our children. Thank you for fighting a long and lonely battle for campaign finance reform. Long before it was popular you were there, and you will get everlasting credit when it becomes the law of the land next year. Thank you, John Kerry. And thank you for sponsoring our legislation to open the doors of college education to every single American. Thank you.

My fellow Americans, 4 years ago when Massachusetts gave me an enormous support and sent Al Gore and me to Washington to work for you, I had come to you and said we had to get our country moving, we had to change the politics of Washington, we had to stop the politics of insults and get to the politics of issues. We had to get away from the politics of division and embrace the politics of unity. We had to stop pointing our fingers at each other and ask what can we do together to get this country going in the right direction. You gave me the chance, and I came here to say thank you. Thank you for doing that.

Four years ago, amid a time of high unemployment, rising crime, rising frustration, and increasing division, you took a chance on me. You took me on faith, and you did not know. You've heard all these debates about where we stand and where they stand tonight. But there's one thing that hasn't been emphasized. We now have some evidence about which side is right. When I became President, the unemployment rate in Massachusetts was 7½ percent. Tonight it is 4.2 percent.

Incomes are rising for the first time in a decade. Inequality—inequality among people who are working has gone down by the largest amount in 27 years. We have the lowest rates of poverty among senior citizens ever recorded. We have 10.7 million new jobs, record new businesses, record new exports. The United States is number one in auto production again for the first time since the 1970's. We are moving in the right direction.

The crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row. We have the lowest crime rate in 10 years. The welfare rolls have dropped for 4 years in a row as nearly 2 million Americans have found their way to work and greater dignity. Child support collections are up 50

percent—\$4 billion a year for the children of this country.

We have worked hard to change the course of America and bring America together. And we have been a force for peace and freedom in the world, from the Middle East to Bosnia to Northern Ireland. And there are no Russian missiles pointed at any American children tonight for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age. We are moving in the right direction.

You know all the issues, but let me say to you that we are moving, at a time of great change, into a new world that we can't fully understand. We know that the frontiers of knowledge are being pushed back at a rapid rate. We know we are changing the way we work and live and relate to the rest of the world. When I became President, there were 3 million Americans working full-time and living at home and working at home. Today, 4 years later, there are 12 million Americans doing it. And 4 years from now, there will be 30 million Americans doing it.

When I became President, there was no known cure for stroke. Today, we have treatment for stroke because of medical research, for the first time ever. And two of the genes that cause breast cancer have been uncovered; we may be able to cure it. We are developing a supercomputer that will do more calculations in a second than you can go home tonight and do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. The world is changing, my fellow Americans, and we had better make the right decisions about how to respond to that change.

There is too much personal negative attack in politics and too little analysis of what the basis of our differences are. Every issue that Congressman Olver, Congressman Neal, Senator Kennedy, Senator Kerry, and Congressman Kennedy mentioned—every one can be distilled into this: I believe that there are some things that we must do together as a nation to help give each other the chance to make the most of our own lives, not a guarantee but a chance. They believe you're better off on your own. That's what their budget was all about. And now you have to decide.

If their budget were the law of the land tonight, we would have had reductions in

Medicare, cuts 3 times as great as those that were necessary to preserve the Medicare Trust Fund. It would have cost our seniors, no matter how poor, \$268 more a year, plus more in out-of-pocket costs over and above that. We would have had the first cuts in student loans and Head Start in modern history. We would have had the first cuts in the Medicaid guarantee of health care to poor children, to middle class families who have family members with disabilities. Even they would have repealed the standards of quality care for seniors in nursing homes. We would have paralyzed the ability of our Government to protect the environment. We would have, in short, divided our country.

But they believe that that was right because they believe we're better off on our own. And you have to decide. They shut the Government down, not once but twice, to force these cuts on the American people. And because these Members of Congress stood with me, they said, "Oh, you Democrats will cave in; you're miserable when the Government is shut down." I said, "This is not about Government; it's about people. I'd rather see the American people inconvenienced for 30 days than irreparably damaged for 30 years. We will not give in to your cuts and your approach."

So now you have to decide about tomorrow, for this election is about tomorrow. This is an election of enormous moment, with great consequences and clear choices. You should all be happy that the choices are as clear as they are. I am well aware that I am not solely responsible for the fact that we have 10.7 million more jobs. But we did our part. We cut the deficit by 63 percent. We invested in education. We expanded the ability of Americans to sell their products around the world. And we did other things to grow the economy. That's why we have those 10.7 million more jobs. We did it together. I want us to do more together. We're not better off on our own. It takes a village to raise a child and build a country and build a future.

So you have to decide whether we will continue our work to balance the budget and protect the medical programs that our seniors, our people with disabilities, our poorest children depend upon; continue to invest in education, in the environment, and tech-

nology; and target our tax cuts to people who need them for purposes that are needed, education and childrearing and buying a first home and dealing with a medical cost; or whether we will adopt their scheme, which will blow a hole in the deficit, require bigger cuts than the ones I vetoed, and send the economy of this State into a tailspin. Will you stand with us to build America's future and build that bridge to the 21st century? [Applause]

You have to decide whether we were right to say people shouldn't lose their jobs if they have to take a little time off when a baby is born or a family member is sick and whether we shouldn't expand the family leave law to say people should be able to get a little time off to go visit their children's teachers and take their family members to the doctor. Will you help us do that? [Applause]

You have to decide whether we're going to clean up 500 more toxic waste sites. You have to decide whether we're going to really implement welfare reform in the right way. It's all very well to say people have to turn a welfare check into a paycheck. I'm for that, but I want the jobs to be there. You can't make people go to work unless there's a job. We have a plan to move a million people from welfare to work. Will you help us implement it and build that bridge? [Applause]

You have to decide whether we were right or they were when we passed the Brady bill and kept 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting handguns. And now people who beat up their spouses and their kids won't be able to get them either. You have to decide if we were right. You have to decide whether you want us to finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street or let them take away the police that are still to be placed. Why in the world they want to do that I don't know, but they do. You have to decide.

And more than anything else, you have to decide where we're going in the issues that will affect whether we can grow together. We did pass health care reform, but our balanced budget plan would give insurance to families who are between jobs for 6 months, would insure another million children, would give free mammograms to women on Medicare, would give respite care to the nearly 2 million

American families caring courageously for a family member with Alzheimer's—all paid for. You get it in our balanced budget plan. They cannot do it. You have to decide. Shouldn't we do more to bring the American people together and help our families to succeed at work and at home? [Applause]

And you have to decide, more than anything else, you have to decide—and this is not just a matter of this cheering crowd. Remember the changes I described in the beginning. Education will no longer be just the province of youth. It will be the work of a lifetime. It will become a part of everyone's work life. We will have to learn and learn and learn. And we must begin to create an education system for the 21st century that gives every American child and every American adult the finest educational opportunities in the world. We cannot do it with their approach. They want to abolish the Department of Education. I want to give you world-class education, and you have to decide. You have to decide.

Thanks to Senator Kennedy and Senator Kerry and others, we got 200,000 more work-study positions for college students in this last budget. Here's what I want to do with half of those. And I want to ask you college students that have been cheering tonight, I want to ask you to help me. We have improved the student loan program. We've given 70,000 of our young people a chance to serve in AmeriCorps in their communities and earn their way to college. We have increased Pell grants by the largest amount in 20 years. But we must do more.

But we have to start with our young children. Do you know that 40 percent of the kids in this country can still not read a book on their own by the age of 8? It may be because we have so many people whose first language is not English. But that will be cold comfort to them as they move through school and fail to learn. I have a plan to mobilize a million volunteers to go into all the land to help parents and teachers teach our children to read. And I want 100,000 of those work-study slots to go to college students who will earn work-study by teaching children to read. Will you help do that? Will you be one of them? [Applause] By the year 2000, I want every 8-year-old in America to be able

to pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." Will you help us do it? [Applause]

Will you help us hook up every classroom and every library and every school in Massachusetts, the smallest rural school, the poorest inner-city school to the information superhighway so that for the first time in the history of America, every single child—poor, rich or middle class, urban, rural or suburban—every child for the first time will have access to the same knowledge in the same way in the same time? We can revolutionize the education of our children. Will you help us do it? [Applause]

Will you help us open the doors of college to all by saying we will give Americans a dollar-for-dollar reduction on their tax bill for the cost of a typical community college tuition so every American of any age can have at least 2 more years of education as universal as high school is today in the next 4 years? Will you help us? [Applause]

Will you help us to give America's families a \$10,000 tax deduction a year for the cost of college tuition at any institution of higher education, graduate or undergraduate, in the United States? Will you help us? [Applause]

And most important of all, remember now, you may have your mind made up, but not everybody does. These are the choices at stake. It's not Senator Kerry and his opponent, President Clinton and Bob Dole, Democrats versus Republicans. It has fallen to our party and our administration at this moment in history to represent the idea that America must always put forward at a time of great change. Whenever we go through changes, we have the option to be more divided or more united. Whenever we have gone through changes, we've had the option to try to make sure everyone could prosper so we could move closer to our ideals.

This is not about money. It's about using the resources of America to enable people to live up to their God-given capacities. And you must decide. The great idea is whether we are going to give each other the conditions and tools to give everybody a chance to make the most of their own lives, or whether we will say, "You're on your own." The great idea is whether we will say, "There's the 21st century out there, Ameri-

ca's best days, the time of greatest possibility in human history. Yes, there's a big river to ford and a deep valley to go into and a high mountain to climb; I hope you get there." Or would you prefer our approach, where we all roll up our sleeves, without regard to race, religion, gender, you name it, and say, "If you will work hard and do your part, we will together build a bridge to the 21st century wide enough and strong enough to take us to America's best days." Will you do that? [Applause] Will you be there Tuesday? [Applause] Will you be there between now and Tuesday and bring your friends? [Applause]

God bless you. Thank you, Massachusetts. I'll see you Tuesday. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:17 p.m. at the Court Square. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Michael Albano of Springfield and Shannon O'Brien, former Massachusetts State representative and senator. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks in Bangor, Maine

November 4, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you, Bangor. Thank you, Maine. Thank you, John Bapst High School Band. The Basin Street All Women Dixieland Band, thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, here we are. I want to thank your mayor for welcoming me when I came here, my long-time friend Libby Mitchell for her work in our campaign. Thank you, Congressman John Baldacci for being a great leader for Maine and a great Congressman for America. I can tell you that if everyone in Congress had the same attitude, values, and work habits as your Congressman does, we wouldn't have half the problems we've got in Washington, DC, today. And you should be very proud of him.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is the first rally of the last day of the last campaign I will ever run, and I am glad to start it here with you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you. In the last few days I have been in much warmer weather—[laughter]—in Arizona and Ne-

vada, southern California, El Paso, Las Cruces, New Mexico, San Antonio, Little Rock, New Orleans. I woke up this morning, believe it or not—or yesterday morning—in Tampa, Florida, and then I went to West Palm Beach and then I went to New Jersey and to Springfield, Massachusetts, and here we are.

I want you to know that I came here for three reasons. First, and in some ways most important, to say a simple thank you to the people of Maine for giving me a chance to serve as President, for taking a chance on me and giving me a chance to serve.

I owe so much to so many people here. And I would be remiss if I did not say a special word of thanks to my good friend Senator George Mitchell, who's not here tonight, because, as I'm sure all of you know, he played Senator Dole in our debates and he prepared me; he won every time. *[Laughter]* But because he prepared me so well, I think it worked out all right when the debates came along.

George Mitchell is now, as all of you know, working hard on the peace talks with Northern Ireland to try to continue the effort we have made to resolve the differences there between the Irish Catholics and the Irish Protestants, between the Loyalists and the Unionists and the republics. We believe that we can see a peace in Ireland in our lifetime. And if it happens, everybody in Maine can take a lot of pride in knowing that George Mitchell played a pivotal, pivotal role. And I thank him for that.

The second reason I came here is because I wanted to stand one last time with my friend of many years, my former colleague as a Governor, a person I like, a person I admire, a person I earnestly hope you will elect to the United States Senate, Joe Brennan.

I got to thinking on the way up here that the people of Maine are as independent as the people of my home State of Arkansas are, and they're bound to think they have enough sense to choose their own Senator. And you don't need me to tell you how to vote. But I'll tell you this: I've known Joe Brennan for years and years. I've talked to him late at night when there were no cameras around, when there was no one to impress, no points

to score, years ago when neither one of us could ever have foreseen that we might be standing here today. I know about his love for his children, his love for this State, his profound belief in education. I know how hard he has worked all of his life to uphold the highest standards in public service. I know and I can see it in his eyes tonight, bone weary from all this campaigning in this tight race, he still burns with a passion to serve you. And he will serve you well if you will give him a chance to do that.

And the third reason I came here tonight also relates to Joe, and that is to tell you that we're really very fortunate in this election we're going to have tomorrow, on Tuesday, because it's an election of enormous consequence with a very clear choice. And you really have to decide on the big choice. It's more important than the people involved and far more important than the political parties involved.

Once a generation or so, our country goes through such a period of profound change that we are powerless to stop the changes. And the only issue is whether we will respond to the changes in the appropriate way. Will we take advantage of this moment in history, to be able to live in a way that will make us more prosperous, that will make us feel our lives have greater meaning because we'll be able to live more closely to the values we all say we believe in, that will enable us to move forward together?

You know, there are a lot of people here, I take it, from the University of Maine since you're not very far away. Let me just say to all of you, you know this, but the world you are about to enter is changing more rapidly in terms of the way people work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world than perhaps at any time certainly in modern history. It's been at least 100 years when we moved, basically, from farm to factory and from the country to the city, when America changed this much. And on top of that, we're not only moving to an economy suffused with technology in every way, we're becoming more and more involved in the rest of the world. And all of our patterns are being changed and a lot of challenges are out there.

I ran for President 4 years ago because I wanted to create opportunity for every

American in this new world; because I wanted every American to be a responsible citizen in this new world and I didn't think we had to tolerate continually rising rates of crime and social division and family and community background, I thought we could do something about it; and because I wanted to see us come together instead of being divided as an American community. That is still the challenge today. That is the bridge I seek to build to the 21st century, one we can all walk across together.

But the great choice before you here tonight is very clear. It may be muddled up with the ads and the charges and all that, but I'm telling you, you can see from what has happened in Washington in the last 2 years, from the budget they passed that I vetoed that Governor Brennan's opponent supported, what the issue is. The issue is whether you believe that we're better off on our own or whether you believe we are better off if we work together to create the conditions and give people the tools to make the most of their own lives, not a guarantee but a chance to live up—every one of you—to your God-given potential. That's what I believe. That's what I believe.

And I just want to say a couple of things about it. First of all, it's not like you don't have any evidence. When I brought this approach to Washington and I said, "I'm tired of all that political rhetoric and all that name-calling and liberal-this, conservative-that, Democrat, Republican," I said, "I'm tired of pointing fingers. I want us to work together to make this country a better place. And I'll work with anybody who will work with me." And I couldn't get a single, solitary soul on the other side to help us with our economic plan. They said, "Oh, it will bring the economy down." Well, now we know. Four years later we have 10.7 million new jobs and we have the lowest average inflation in 30 years, the lowest average unemployment in 20 years, the biggest drop in income inequality in 27 years in America. We're moving in the right direction, folks. Our approach is right, and they were not when they didn't support it.

I said we can lower the crime rate if we put 100,000 police on our street. We don't have to tolerate the crime rate going up year-

in and year-out. We can mobilize citizens to work with the police officers and work in neighborhoods block by block. We even arranged to get 50,000 phones out there, cell phones for neighborhood watch groups to work with these police. I said we can do this. And they ridiculed me. They said, "Oh, you'll never put those police on the street." They must have believed it because they tried to stop me from doing it two or 3 times. But now we know. We've had 4 years of declining crime, the lowest crime rate in America in 10 years. If we do it for 4 more years everybody in America might start to feel safe again, and that would be a good thing for the children of this country.

I said I believe we can move people from welfare to work and still be good to their children. And we have reduced the welfare rolls by nearly 2 million and increased child support collections by almost 50 percent, \$4 billion a year, and given a tax credit for people who will adopt a child, which is a very good thing to do—\$5,000. I hope more children will find homes as a result of it.

And all this was different. But every step of the way it was more partisan than it should have been because they said no. And then they won the Congress in 1994, and we saw what they wanted to do.

Do you believe you're better off on your own, and is it all right if we're apart? Or do you believe we should help each other and grow and go forward together? That's what that budget fight was all about.

They said they were even going to give people like me a big tax cut though I didn't need it. And they were going to pay for it by cutting Medicare by 3 times as much as had to be cut to preserve the Medicare program. They were going to withdraw, after 30 years, the guarantee of the Medicaid program of health care to the elderly in nursing homes. They were even going to get rid of the standards for care in our nursing homes. They were going to withdraw the guarantee of health care to middle class families who have family members with disabilities. They were going to cut education, college loans, and Head Start for the first time in modern history and paralyze our ability to protect the environment.

Now, they said a lot of nice things about it and a lot of bad things about us personally. But that's the fact. That's what they were going to do. They were even going to raise taxes on 8 million of the hardest pressed working people in this country and allow corporate executives to raid their workers' pension funds after all that horrible experience we had in the 1980's. We certainly have learned that we have to protect pension funds. I've worked hard to do that.

And I said no. And then they cut the—shut the Government down. And I said no. So, they shut the Government down again. But because John Baldacci and others stood with me, they were not able to impose that budget on the American people. They said, "Oh, you can't bear to shut the Government down." And I said, "Shut the Government down. I'd rather see us inconvenienced for 30 days than damaged for 30 years." I'm glad we did that. But now you get to decide—you get to decide whether you believe that we'd be better off in Maine and Arkansas and other places in the country being cut loose or whether you think we ought to do some things together.

But let me tell you what this is not. This is not about liberal and conservative. Our administration has the most fiscally conservative record in modern history. We're the first administration to reduce the deficit in all 4 years of our term in the 20th century. It is now 63 percent lower than it was when we took office. Our Government is the smallest it's been since President Kennedy came here to campaign. Our record in abolishing regulations and unnecessary programs and privatizing programs exceeds that of my two Republican predecessors. It's not about conservative or liberal, it's about whether we have an obligation to do some things together.

So you get to decide what we should do together. That's what this election for the Senate is about. Joe Brennan is a friend of mine and he's a good man and he'll serve you well. And I hope he gets elected. But the real reason you ought to vote for him is because it's better for you, your children, your future, the future of Maine, and the future of the United States of America. And you get to decide.

On the budget you've got a clear choice: You can follow our plan with 4 years of evidence and go on and balance the budget, give targeted tax cuts for education, childrearing, health care, and homebuying, and protect Medicare and Medicaid, education, and the environment or you can have this big old tax scheme which sounds good but actually raises taxes on 9 million hard-working people, requires bigger cuts in education than the ones I vetoed, and will blow a hole in the deficit and weaken our economy, but it'll cut us all loose. I say let's go forward together, build that bridge, and balance that budget. Will you help Joe Brennan and me to do that? *[Applause]* Will you do that? Come on, I can't hear you. *[Applause]*

Your vote will decide if we continue our efforts to help our families succeed at home and at work. I have been from corner to corner in this country, and everywhere I go—talking to families of all income levels—I find that the biggest challenge so many people face is how to fulfill their responsibilities at work and then do their most important job, which is to be good parents to their children. The average American working family is spending more hours on the job today than their predecessors were 25 years ago. Most parents work, and most parents have to work. Therefore, it is incumbent upon us to design a society in which people can succeed at the most important work of all, being good parents, and also do very well at work. That is important.

That's why I fought for the family and medical leave law. The leaders of the other party fought against it. Now, they said—to be fair to them, they honestly believed it was wrong. Senator Dole believed it was wrong. They said, "It will hurt the economy because we ought to leave people alone and let them do whatever they want to do. And I hope they'll do the right thing." He wasn't mean about it; he hoped they would do it. I said, "If you want people to be able to do it without getting hurt by their competitors who aren't doing it, you have to set some rules and let us all play by those rules."

Well, now we've got some evidence. Three years later we've got 12 million families who got to take some time off when their babies were born or their family members were sick.

We've got record numbers of new businesses, record numbers of exports, and 10.7 million new jobs. Our approach is right; it will make America stronger. And we should expand family leave to help parents take time off to go see their children's teachers twice a year and take their family members to the doctor. Joe Brennan will help. Will you help? [Applause]

Your vote will decide whether we continue to try to help keep our children safe from drugs and tobacco and gangs and guns. We have tried to put people in every school in America saying drugs are wrong, drugs are illegal, drugs can kill you, with the safe and drug-free school program. They say they are tough on drugs, but they cut the program in half. And I stopped them, and we restored it. But we have more to do.

We were the first administration ever to say to the big tobacco companies, you have to stop marketing your cigarettes illegally to children. And they opposed me. They opposed me. But 3,000 kids a day start smoking; 1,000 will die earlier because of it. I think we did the right thing. We're in the middle of that. You will decide by your votes for the Senate and your vote for President whether you want us to continue the safe and drug-free schools program, the anti-teen-tobacco initiative, the initiatives that we're taking to put more police officers on the street, which they have consistently opposed and which they will have to undermine in their budget. It is your decision.

So this is not about Joe Brennan or Bill Clinton or John Baldacci. It's about what you want for your kids, your families, your communities, and your future. Will you help us on Tuesday to keep going in the right direction? [Applause]

And the most important thing of all, the most important thing of all is that everybody understand that even in this great State of Maine—which has the highest percentage of timberland of any State in the country, a State I have vacationed in and traveled across and come to love, a State like mine which still has a lot of agricultural and natural resource income—we will be dominated by technology, by computers, by a global economy, by information. We will decide whether we shape it in a way that helps us to build

strong families, good careers, and good futures or whether it shapes us in a way that undermines our hopes and dreams. We will decide. That is why the decision about how we will go about the business of educating the American people is perhaps the most fundamental decision before us in this election. Now, I have offered a program to the American people that will do many things. But I want you to think about three of them because they have particular relevance to Maine.

Number one, 40 percent of the 8-year-olds in this country still can't read independently by the time they get to the third grade. I have a plan to mobilize a million volunteers, including 100,000 college students we'll pay work-study funds to do it, to teach these children to read. Do you believe we should do that? [Applause] Will the students here help us do that? [Applause]

Number two, especially important to rural States like Maine and my home State of Arkansas, I have a plan to hook up every classroom and every library and every school in the entire United States of America to the information superhighway by the year 2000. Now, what this means—for all of you older folks like me out there that aren't computer whizzes, let me tell you what that means. It means that for the first time in the history of America kids in the smallest rural districts, kids in the poorest inner-city districts, rich kids, poor kids, middle class kids, city kids, rural kids, suburban kids, for the first time ever they'll all have access to the same information in the same way at the same time. It will revolutionize education in America. Will you help us to do it? [Applause] I can't hear you. Will you do it? [Applause]

Finally, we must open the doors of college education to all Americans of any age who are willing to go. I want to make 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school diploma is today in the next 4 years. We can do that with no bureaucracy and no program simply by telling the American people they can deduct dollar for dollar from their tax bill the cost of a typical community college tuition for 2 years. I want to let you save in a IRA more than before, but withdraw from that retirement account without any penalty if you're using the money

for education, medical emergencies, buying a first-time home. And, finally, I want to give every American family a deduction of up to \$10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition. It will change the face of America. Now, believe me, that is our program. That is not their program. They cannot do that.

They can't fund our health care initiatives which is in our balanced budget to give families that are unemployed 6 months of insurance when they're between jobs, to give free mammograms to women on Medicare, to give respite care to the nearly 2 million families that are lovingly and courageously caring for family members with Alzheimer's, to add another million kids to the ranks of those with health insurance. They can't do that, either. It's not in their program because they have a "you're on your own" program: bigger cuts than the ones I vetoed, blowing a hole in the deficit, walking away from our common responsibilities.

You don't have to believe they're bad people. I don't like all this negative stuff about our—a lot of our campaigns. We just have different ideas. You have to decide in Maine whether you believe we are right or they are right. And I'm telling you, you at least have some evidence, because compared to 4 years ago we're in better shape than we were then. But you know we've still got a lot of work to do to create opportunity for all Americans, to build a community in which we're all a part, to have responsible citizens everywhere and every community doing their part.

Will you help us on Tuesday to elect Joe Brennan? *[Applause]* Will you help us on Tuesday to build a bridge to the 21st century? *[Applause]* Will Maine lead the way into a bright new era, America's best days? *[Applause]* I need you. I can't hear you. Say it! *[Applause]*

Thank you. God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:42 a.m. at the Bangor airport. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Marshall Frankel of Bangor and State Representative Elizabeth (Libby) Mitchell.

Remarks in Manchester, New Hampshire

November 4, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you.

Audience member. Nice tie! *[Laughter]*

The President. Thank you. I sort of like this tie myself. Thank you. It was given to me just this morning. *[Laughter]*

A couple of weeks ago we were trying to plan how we would end this campaign—I hope I can say this without cracking up. *[Laughter]* And I said I would like to begin the last day of my last campaign in New Hampshire.

Five years and one month ago today I came to New Hampshire saying that the world was changing, America was changing, and that we couldn't stay with the old politics, that our country was being paralyzed by all this name-calling and rhetoric out of Washington, dividing us when we needed to be pulling together, and thinking about all the incredible opportunities as well as the stiff challenges we faced. And I believed that if we changed the nature of politics in our Nation's Capital we could change America and we could come together and move forward, that we could create more opportunity and have more responsibility and we could come together in an American community. That's what I believed.

Four years ago, all over this State, all kinds of people took me on faith. You heard what Dick Swett said, we are better off than we were 4 years ago. We are moving in the right direction because of what he did. And a different kind of tone has overtaken the politics of New Hampshire. I was so happy and proud when I stood here on this stage this morning and I listened to Arnie and Joe and Dick and Jeanne Shaheen talk about what they wanted to do and why they were running and what they represented.

And I heard, I guess it was Joe who said Warren Rudman said that the Democrats had become the moderate party. I think the

Democrats have become the modern party as well, the party of the future. America has always needed at times of great changes in how we work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world a modern moderate party, a commonsense but vital, vigorous centrist party moving this country forward. That's what you see on this stage.

And I was so proud—I heard Arnie speaking and she reminded me this morning that I first met her in an elevator here before the Democratic Convention in the '92 campaign and she didn't know me, but then no one else did either. *[Laughter]* And I was thinking how far Joe Keefe has come, how greatly he's matured, what a terrific speech he made. And they're going to be terrific Members of the Congress if you'll stick with them tomorrow and help them.

I was thinking that the first time I ever met Jeanne Shaheen I thought she was a diamond waiting to be discovered, that if the people ever really got a good look at her, they would want her to serve in higher office. You have given her that chance, and tomorrow you're going to make her your Governor. And it will be a good time for New Hampshire.

First time I met Dick Swett and Katrina and their children—you have to come to New Hampshire every 9 months if you want to meet all their children. *[Laughter]* I thought—somebody asked me today, "You know, you're the first President in history ever to come to New Hampshire eight times in your term of office." I said, "Well, I've got to keep up with Dick's family." *[Laughter]* I thought to myself, this man is the walking embodiment of family values.

You remember back in '92 we had a toast and roast to raise money for the party, and you all virtually extorted all this money out of those of us who were running for President; you knew we'd show up and say nice things about Dick Swett. He knew that he could do very well in his campaign, raising money with all the candidates, showing up at the toast and roast. I stood up and said that I didn't come here to heap praise on him like all these panderers did who were running against me for President. I came up here to wipe his windshield on his car. *[Laughter]*

I want to say to you that Dick Swett stood for reducing the deficit, reducing the crime rate, for making Congress live under the same laws it imposes on the American people before it was the popular thing to do—before it was the popular thing to do. He would be a positive, uniting force in Congress, not a divisive, rancorous force. He would be a force for generosity, for the better part of the spirit of the people of New Hampshire, for the better part of your future, not a force telling you how bad this person or the other one or the other one is, but a person who would be bringing us together. I'm telling you, that's what we need more than anything in America today. We need to stop the insults and get on the issues and building our future and going forward, and that's what Dick Swett would be.

Now, you know that compared to 4 years ago, in terms of the economy, the lowest crime rate in 10 years, declining welfare rolls, rising child support collection, in almost every way of indicating the character of American life, we are moving forward into the 21st century.

You don't have to take me on faith anymore; you don't have to say, well, that sounds like a good approach. We tried our approach, and they have fought it every step of the way. And you know which one works. And New Hampshire is now a living example of what happens when we work together to help each other make the most of our own lives. And make no mistake about it, that is what is at issue here. With all these big, big issues we fought about—when you hear us talking about the budget or education or the environment, the fundamental core issue is whether there are some things on the edge of this great new century and new millennium we must do together. If we want every American to have a chance to live up to his or her God-given ability, if we want America to be the strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the world, if we want America to be a community that's growing together and going forward together, there are some things we must do together.

One thing we have, I hope, dispelled in New Hampshire and throughout America is that this has nothing to do with liberal and conservative. It is our administration that has

reduced the deficit 4 years in a row for the first time in the 20th century. The Government is the smallest it's been since John Kennedy came to New Hampshire as the President of the United States. We have reduced more programs and regulations and privatized more Government services than our Republican predecessors. But we believe there are some things we must do together. They say, "You're on your own." We say, "Let's build a bridge to the 21st century together that we can all walk across together." All of these issues are in that one choice.

And let me say this goes beyond party, too. At every point of great change in the history of this Nation someone has to step up and say we're going to meet this challenge and we're going to go forward together. And when we do we will be living closer to our ideals. It hasn't always been the Democratic Party; Abraham Lincoln gave his life to save the Union and end slavery. Theodore Roosevelt devoted his Presidency to making America change in a way that would help to preserve and enhance our values in the face of the industrial revolution. It was Roosevelt who said it's wrong for these children to be working 70 hours a week in factories when they ought to be in school; that it's wrong to tear up all of our natural resources; it's wrong to let monopolies destroy every small-business person in the country and end the free enterprise system. It hasn't always been the Democratic Party.

But you remember what they did on the other side when they had the majority in Congress. They passed a budget that was divisive, destructive, and would have taken us back to the past. It is now our responsibility to keep on this path that I charted with you in New Hampshire in 1992 because we are the only people who are out there advocating that. That's why we need Arnie Arnesen; that's why we need Joe Keefe; that's why we need Dick Swett and Jeanne Shaheen in the Governor's office. That's why we need them.

Your vote is going to decide whether you return to the Congress the majority of people who were prepared to shut the Government down unless we agreed to dismantle the Medicaid program, to revoke the national standards—even the standards on the quality of nursing home care—revoke the commit-

ment we've had for 30 years to provide health care to families with members with severe disabilities so they could continue to live middle class lifestyles as they worked hard. Your vote will decide that.

They voted for a budget that cut education—student loans to Head Start—for the first time in modern history, that for the first time in 25 years abandoned our national bipartisan commitment to preserving the environment and instead put shackles on our ability to preserve clean air and clean water. And when we wouldn't accept it, they shut the Government down twice. Now, that was their approach. They said my approach was wrong, but you see what the results are.

You know now what our approach is. You know now what their approach is. The choice is there for you. Are we going to finish the job of balancing the budget while investing in our children and protecting Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment, or blow a hole in the deficit? Your vote will decide. Your vote will decide whether we will let the family leave law wither on the vine because they oppose it, or expand it and say, you know, you ought to be able to take a little time off from work without losing their jobs to go see your children's teacher twice a year and take your family members to the doctor.

Your vote will decide whether we continue our work of putting 100,000 police on the street. Remember when I was here in Manchester not very long ago, visiting the neighborhood where the crime rate had been lowered because there were more police on the street? They opposed us in putting 100,000 police on the street. Then they said it would never happen. Well, we've now funded about half of them. They voted against it. Then they eliminated it in their budget. Then they tried to shrink it again. They do not believe that we should work together. I can't think of anything more important than to make our children and our families safe on their streets, in their schools, in their homes, in their neighborhoods, reclaiming our streets for law-abiding citizens.

Your vote will decide. Your vote will decide whether we continue to support the safe and drug-free schools program. The only indicator in this country right now, social indi-

cator that's not going in the right direction, with welfare down and crime down and out-of-wedlock pregnancy down for the first time in 20 years and child support collections up and drug use overall down and cocaine use down 30 percent—the only indicator that's not going in the right direction is drug use by young people under 18. I have done my best to dramatically increase the programs at the grassroots level helping people to tell our kids drugs are illegal, drugs are wrong, drugs will kill you. The safe and drug-free schools program is putting people in uniforms before young children at early ages to give them a chance to stay out of trouble in the first place. But they cut the program dramatically. I will expand it. I believe we have a common interest in helping schools all over America to reach our children at an early age, to support the values we should all be communicating and keeping our kids out of trouble. Your vote will decide. Your vote will decide.

Your vote will decide whether we or they are right when I supported and initiated and they opposed the first effort ever by our National Government to tell the big tobacco companies they had to stop advertising, marketing, and distributing cigarettes illegally to children because 3,000 a day start smoking and 1,000 will die soon because of it. Your vote will decide.

[At this point, an audience member required medical attention.]

Yes, we need a doctor here. My medical team's here. We'll be right there.

You will have to decide that. And folks—yes, here they are. You will have to decide that. And I want you, when you walk out of here today, to remember everything that's happened in this country since I first came here in 1992. Remember that and think about it tomorrow when you get up. And think about these four fine people behind me and think about what your responsibilities are. You have a chance to seize the most brilliant future in American history. The best days of this country are still to be lived. But we have to make the right decisions. And you have to make the right decisions.

In what I suppose has become the most famous of my political speeches, I said in

Dover, New Hampshire, in 1992 that if you would give me a chance to be President, I would be with you until the last dog dies. Now, folks, there's a lot of life in this old dog. And I want you to seize this day for our children, for our future, for the right sort of policies especially in education. We're going to open the doors of college education to all. We're going to hook up all these classrooms to the Internet. We're going to teach all of our young children to read. We're going to continue to reform health care so that more and more and more Americans can afford it and don't lose it when they're in difficult circumstances. We're going to continue to grow this economy while we balance the budget and protect the environment.

These are the things we can do together. We're going to continue to make our streets safe and our children's future brighter if you will seize the day and help us build that bridge to the 21st century.

God bless you, New Hampshire. Thank you. I'll see you tomorrow. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:55 a.m. outside the Merrimack Restaurant. In his remarks, he referred to Dick Swett, senatorial candidate from New Hampshire; Deborah (Arnie) Arnesen, candidate for New Hampshire's Second Congressional District; Joseph F. Keefe, candidate for New Hampshire's First Congressional District; Jeanne Shaheen, gubernatorial candidate; and former Senator Warren Rudman.

Remarks in Cleveland, Ohio

November 4, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Are you ready for tomorrow? *[Applause]* Will you be there? *[Applause]* Wow! Well, I do not know what the Vice President ate for breakfast this morning—*[laughter]*—but if he'd had two more bites of it he would have blown the roof clear off of this thing.

But he told you the truth. I want to say, here on this last day of this campaign, how profoundly grateful I am and how profoundly grateful I know that Hillary is to have had the partnership we have enjoyed with Al and Tipper Gore. He is clearly the finest Vice

President in the history of the United States. I want to say, in ways that you can never know, they have represented our country with honor and distinction and made America a better place.

I thank Mayor White for his leadership of this great city, a city that is moving in the right direction. I thank Senator John Glenn for his campaigning with me all across Ohio and for his campaigning and standing with me in Washington. Thank you, Congressman Lou Stokes, for your great, great leadership for the city of Cleveland. Thank you, Congressman Sherrod Brown. Thank you, Jane Campbell. I hope you'll help her tomorrow. The State party chair, David Leland, and our U.S. Treasurer, your former treasurer, Mary Ellen Withrow, thank you for coming home to Ohio to help us today.

I, too, want to thank Joe Walsh and the James Gang. It's about time they got back together. And that's what we're about, bringing people back together, and I think we did it today. And I want to say a special word of thanks to Dennis Kucinich and Tom Coyne for running for the Congress, to give it back to you, to the people of Ohio and the people of America. Stand up, guys. Give them a hand. *[Applause]*

Ladies and gentlemen, you've heard all the issues debated. You've heard all of the specifics argued. But you know from what the Vice President has said, you know from your own experience that the choice you make tomorrow for the last President of the 20th century and the first President of a new century and a new millennium is a choice about how we will go forward into the 21st century.

All the young people who are here, I especially thank you for coming because this is about your future. You know what this choice is about. It's about whether we're going to go forward on our own or whether we're going to go forward together. It's about whether we're going to say, "There's a future out there and it's a long way out there and you've got to ford a big river and go down a big, deep valley and climb a high mountain; we sure hope you make it; call or write when you get there"—*[laughter]*—or whether we think we'll do better, all of us, if we work together to give everyone the tools they need, the chance—not a guarantee but a chance—

to make the most of our own lives and build that bridge to the 21st century together.

Now, we have talked a lot in this campaign about my responsibilities to create more opportunity, to reinforce responsible conduct among young people and families and communities, to bring us together in an American community. Today I want to talk about your responsibility, for in this great country of ours you are the boss and we are your servants. And our contract is coming due.

It is up to you to decide whether we're going to keep building that bridge to the future or build a bridge to the past; up to you to decide whether we'll be left on our own or whether we'll go forward together; up to you to decide whether all these signs here that say Irish-Americans, Hungarian-Americans, Greek-Americans, the African-Americans, the Hispanic-Americans, the Asian-Americans, the Middle Arab-Americans—all the people that are in this audience, whether we are part of one America going forward together. You must seize the day to say this is our country, this is our future, and we're going to build it together. Will you do that tomorrow? *[Applause]*

You know that 4 years ago when Ohio put us over the top on election night, when they showed that map of America and then the Ohio map started blinking and my heart started palpitating and they said, "Ohio has gone for Clinton and Gore. They have the votes they need to win the White House"—you remember that. You took us on faith then, but now you don't have to. You know whether their approach or our approach works. This State is better off compared to 4 years ago in every way: more jobs, higher incomes, more businesses, a lower crime rate, lower welfare reform—rates. We are moving in the right direction. Do you want to keep going, and will you be there tomorrow to keep it going? *[Applause]*

Your vote will decide what kind of future we build. Will you say—will every one of you personally say, "For my children, for their future, for our country, this is my responsibility. And I will seize tomorrow to build America's 21st century bridge"? Will you do it? *[Applause]*

Folks, now let me tell you—

[At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.]

The President. Wait a minute. We've got a few folks from the other side in the audience, but don't boo them. It only encourages them. Make them welcome. Make them feel welcome. Make them feel welcome. [Applause] We're not like they are. Even they are part of our America. We're not running anybody off. We're glad to have you here. Make them feel welcome. [Applause]

And besides, I want to thank Senator Dole for something. He made a great speech for my reelection the other day. You know, we had a report we were at 10½ million new jobs in the last 4 years. And then last week it came out that we had another 210,000 new jobs, for 10.7 million jobs—faster job growth than any Republican administration since the 1920's. And when that happened, when that happened Senator Dole said we had the worst economy in 20 years. Now, why is that a speech? Because just 2 weeks before, he said we had the worst economy in 100 years. Now, who else do you know who could make up 80 years in 2 weeks? We're moving in the right direction. We're going to the 21st century. We need to bear down and go on. We're going.

I agree with everything the Vice President said except one. The first decision you make is whether we continue our historic efforts in reducing the debt and bringing down interest rates and growing the economy by balancing the budget of the United States in a way that protects our investments in education, the environment, technology, and protects the people on Medicare and Medicaid and gives a targeted tax cut we can afford for education, childrearing, buying a first home, and health care—that's our plan—or whether we'll go back to their plan, the one that led to our veto. Their new version is even worse: a bigger deficit, bigger cuts, and tax increases on 8 million hard-working Americans. You have to decide.

Now, you heard the Vice President say they joined hands and jumped off the cliff together in that last Congress. That's not what they did; they joined hands and tried to push you off the cliff together. But with the help of John Glenn and Lou Stokes and

Sherrod Brown, we reached out a lifeline. We said, "You can shut the Government down if you want." They said, "We'll bring the President to his knees. We will shut the Government down." And I said, "I would far rather see the American people hurt for 30 days than hurt for 30 years. You shut her down. You're not going to force that budget down our throat."

But now, folks, I have done all I can do. It's in your corner now, and you must seize the day. You'll decide whether we balance the budget and protect our priorities and invest in our future, or whether we adopt their risky scheme and wreck our economy. You will decide whether they were right or I was right when I signed the family and medical leave law and they, Mr. Dole and Mr. Gingrich, led the fight against it. They said when I signed it, this is a terrible thing, this will hurt the economy. Well, we know now, 12 million people got to take a little time off from work when a baby was born or a family member was sick. We've had record new businesses, record exports, 10.7 million new jobs, incomes going up \$1,600 in the last 2 years alone. Family leave made us a stronger economy by helping people be happy at work because they knew their kids were all right at home. We did the right thing, and they were wrong.

So you have to decide. I want to expand it because I think you ought to be able to take a little time off to go see your children's teachers twice a year and take your kids to the doctor. But they don't. Your vote will decide. Will you seize the day tomorrow and help us expand family leave? [Applause] Will you seize the day and help us balance the budget? [Applause]

Your vote will decide whether we continue to reform health care. There along toward the end of the Congress, finally some of the reforms we had been advocating passed because they knew they were coming home to face you. And so now we can say, finally you can't lose your health insurance just because you change jobs or someone in your family has been sick. Finally insurance companies can't kick mothers and their newborn babies out of the hospital after 24 hours. But in our budget—in our budget, our balanced budget, we give health insurance to another million

children, free mammograms to women on Medicare, respite care for the nearly 2 million families that are heroically caring for a family member with Alzheimer's, struggling against all the odds. We do all that and give families who lose their jobs 6 months more of health insurance while they're between jobs. We still balance the budget. They don't, we do. That's why they're screaming. You've got to seize the day and help us reform health care. You've got to seize the day.

You have to decide. We had a huge fight over crime. We had an approach on crime which Senator Glenn and Congressman Stokes and Congressman Brown supported. We said, we can bring the crime rate down if we put more police on the streets, get tougher with repeat offenders, give our kids something to say yes to, and get guns and gangs and drugs off the streets. That's our strategy. We'll work.

We passed a crime bill to put 100,000 police on the street, take assault weapons off the streets, double the funds for safe and drug-free schools so our kids will get the message early that drugs are illegal and wrong and can kill you. And guess what? Four years of declining crime, the lowest crime rate in 10 years. They're still trying to stop us from putting the police on the street. Will you help us finish the job of putting those 100,000 police on the street? *[Applause]*

Will you say to them with your vote, "You rolled through Ohio and all these States in 1994 telling innocent people who were good, God-fearing Americans that we were going to take their guns away for hunting and sporting purposes. And now we know. After 2 years not a single hunter or sports person in Ohio has lost a gun, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers cannot get handguns because of the Brady bill. You were wrong." Will you seize the day and stand up for a safe America? *[Applause]* Will you help us finish the job? *[Applause]*

We have worked hard to protect our children with the safe and drug-free schools program, with a V-chip in televisions so that parents can control what their young children see on television, and with the first initiative ever by our National Government to say to the big tobacco companies, "You've got to

stop marketing, advertising, and selling cigarettes to kids; it's illegal, and too many of them are going to die because of it." In all three of those initiatives, the safe and drug-free schools initiative, the V-chip, the antitobacco initiative—they're all in process now; none are finished; they can all be reversed—they disagree with us. You have to decide. Will you seize the day for your children's future, their health care, the integrity of their lives, and the fact that every child in this country deserves to grow up in an atmosphere free of drugs and gangs and violence and tobacco? Will you help us do that? Will you? *[Applause]*

We have moved 2 million people nearly from welfare to work over 4 years of hard work. Child support collections are up 50 percent; \$4 billion a year is going to children who need it. We passed a \$5,000 tax credit to encourage families to adopt children. There are so many of them who need homes out there. Will you help us finish the job on welfare reform? The law says if you're able-bodied, within 2 years you have to turn the welfare check into a paycheck. But you cannot require people to go to work unless there is work for them to have. We have a plan to create another million jobs to move people from welfare to work. Will you help us? Will you seize the day to do that? *[Applause]*

And most important of all, your vote is going to decide what we're going to do as a country about education and whether education will continue to be the great unifying force of opportunity and progress it has always been, or whether we're going to let it drift away into a force that divides us between those who have it and those who do not. Our plan recognizes that too many 8-year-olds in this country still can't read. And I propose to mobilize a million volunteers, including 100,000 college students we pay work-study funds to, to teach every 8-year-old in the country to read independently by the third grade in the year 2000. Will you help us do that? *[Applause]*

And for the first time, I want to hook up every classroom and library in America to the information superhighway, the Internet, the World Wide Web. That means for the first time in the whole history of America, children in the smallest rural school in Ohio,

children in the poorest inner-city district in Ohio will have access in the same way at the same time to the same information as students in the wealthiest districts in America do. It will revolutionize the education of our children. Will you seize the day tomorrow to do that for your children? *[Applause]*

And will you help us open the doors of college education to every single American who is willing to go and work for that opportunity? *[Applause]* Folks, when I became President, we improved the college loan program to lower its costs and say you could pay the money back as a percentage of your income so no young person would ever have to fear running up a big debt and be bankrupted. We just signed the biggest increase in Pell grants in 20 years. Seventy thousand young people earned their way to college through service in the community in the AmeriCorps program. And they fought us on AmeriCorps; they fought us on college loans; they fought us on Head Start. Now, their program for the future is, abolish the Department of Education.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Think of it. Think of it. We would go into the 21st century as the only country in the world with no one sitting at the table of the head of state, no one at the President's Cabinet to speak up for the education of our children. My program is, let's make 2 years of education after high school as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today. Let's give every American—let every American deduct from their tax bill, dollar for dollar, the cost of a typical community college tuition, and we'll get that done. Let every American deduct up to \$10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition, undergraduate or graduate, no matter what the age of the student. Will you help us do that? Will you seize the opportunity tomorrow to do that? *[Applause]*

Now, this election is about more than personalities and more than parties, it is about the future of America. And you have to decide. You have to decide whether in the end it will be an election of your hopes or your fears, whether it will be an election that will bring us closer together or drive us further apart. I have done everything I could. The responsibility now shifts to you, my fellow

Americans. It is your country, your children, your future.

I thank you for giving me the chance to serve. I ask you to think tonight—I ask you to think tonight before you go to bed about what you want this great country to look like. We are better off than we were 4 years ago. When we cross the bridge into the 21st century, if we stay on this course, we'll be better off still. And we will do it together. Look at your children; think of your future. Seize the day to keep your country moving in the right direction.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:05 p.m. at the Convocation Center at Cleveland State University. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Michael R. White of Cleveland; Jane Campbell, Ohio State Representative; musician Joe Walsh; Dennis Kucinich, candidate for Ohio's 10th Congressional District; and Thomas J. Coyne Jr., candidate for Ohio's 19th Congressional District.

Remarks in Lexington, Kentucky

November 4, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Hello, Kentucky! Thank you very much. Thank you. Mayor Miller, Governor Patton, Senator Ford, Lieutenant Governor Henry, Mayor Abramson, Chairman Babbage, and Steve Beshear—

[At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.]

The President. Let me ask you—wait, wait, folks. If you pay attention to him, you're just rewarding him. So why don't we make a deal and we'll ignore him. I have a totally different attitude about this than a lot of people do. I always welcome people from the opposition to our rallies, because unlike them, my America includes everybody who's willing to work hard. And I'm always glad to see them.

I'm always even willing to sort of be quiet and let them talk, but they never want to stop, because what they really want is to stop me from talking and you from hearing. And

if I was running against the record we've established and the ideas for the future, and I had to carry that budget I vetoed around on my back the way they do, maybe I'd be trying to shout my opponents down, too, but I hope not. I hope not.

So we've had enough smear and smear and smear, and why don't we just take a few minutes on this beautiful, beautiful fall night in Kentucky to think about our future. And if we get interrupted, let's just keep thinking about our future.

I want to thank all the young people who came here tonight, especially, because the election is more about you than anyone else. I want to thank all the entertainers who came: Kevin Cronin, the Central Kentucky Youth Orchestra, Carol and Vanessa Det, Black Voices, and the marching bands of Harrison County, Nicholson County, Mercer County, and Lafayette County. Thank you very much. Thank you, Ashley Judd, for coming. Thank you. Now, Coach Pitino, we're both defending our titles, and maybe I'll see you in the White House again next year.

Let me say on this beautiful day, what is really at stake here, clearly, beyond any doubt, is what this country will look like when we cross that bridge just 4 years from now into a new century and a new millennium. And all of you who are students here and probably everybody who is in this audience understands that we're going through a huge change in how we work and live, how we relate to each other and the rest of the world. And the real issue here is whether we're going to make a decision to do things together that will help each other have a chance to make the most of our own lives, live up to our God-given capacities, and build together stronger families and communities and States and nations or whether we're better off being told that we're on our own.

Now, all these issues have been debated to death, I guess, so let me just give you some personal examples out of my life. A couple of nights ago I was in Denver, Colorado, and we had a rally like this—it wasn't as big; it was at night and in a little—in an inside place—but I was going along the row like this, shaking hands. Here's what happened to me in about 5 minutes. In each case, I

want you to listen and see if you identify with it.

I met a young woman who was a victim of domestic violence who thanked me for setting up the violence against women section at the Justice Department and working to stop violence against women and children and setting up that hotline.

I met a man who was doing ground-breaking research against Parkinson's disease who got a research grant because of an initiative of our administration. And he had fire in his eyes when he said, "We are going to cure this disease; we're going to whip it; we're going to get to the point where we have 100 percent cure rate."

And then I met a man who told me that he and his wife had just adopted a young child, and because of the family and medical leave law she was home with the child, getting the child accustomed to being in a new environment and they were not going to lose her job and her income because of it, because of the family and medical leave law.

And then I met three women who were breast cancer survivors who thanked me for fighting hard for the research funding in the budgets of the last 4 years that include more women and more research. We've uncovered two of the genes that cause breast cancer, and we may well be able not only to cure it but prevent it in the next few years.

And then—just walking down the line now—and then I met a young person who went back to school on the AmeriCorps program after serving in his community and then got some money to pay his way to college.

And then I met a young woman who was a police officer in a smaller Colorado town, thanking me for our police program that Wendell Ford voted for to put 100,000 more police on the streets of America because they were getting 5 more.

And then I met a young man who told me that he was a dropout and had given up on his life, but he heard me talking about the importance of going back to school. He found out about the changes that we've made in the student loan program and what we were trying to do, and he said, "I got one of those new loans and now I'm going back to school and I'm going to get a degree in

microbiology. I didn't just get in, I got in in a big way," he said.

Now, that's just one rope line. Every issue I talk to you about, every single one, my opponent and the leaders of the other party opposed us on the initiatives which made those things possible—every single one. That is what is at stake here. When I said we ought to pass a crime bill that puts 100,000 police on the street, they said, "It won't do any good, and you'll never do it." Then when they passed their budget, they must have been worried about us doing it because they tried to stop me from doing it. But we've only funded about half those police officers. It's a 5-year program; you will decide whether we finish the job.

Now, here are the facts. The crime rate has gone down 4 years in a row. We have a 10-year low in American crime. If we bring it down for 8 years in a row we might make our streets, our schools, our neighborhoods safe for all of America's children. I believe we're right and they're wrong. But you have to decide.

You have to decide so many of these issues. But if you strip them all away, you look at what is really at stake: What is it that we should be doing together to help each other make the most of our own lives? Now, we have had some time to see whether this approach works or not. Compared to 4 years ago, we have 10.7 million more jobs, record numbers of new small businesses, incomes are going up again, the lowest rates of unemployment and inflation in 27 years.

I met a woman—we were just in Cleveland, Hillary and I were—I met a woman who was crying and had a picture of her house because she had been able to buy a house because we have a 15-year high in homeownership, which is what happens if you drive the deficit down 63 percent and get those interest rates down.

So the country is moving in the right direction. And the real question before you is, what do you want it to look like 4 years from now? This is the last day of my last campaign. I will never seek office again unless I go home and run for the school board someday. *[Laughter]* This election is about your future. It's about what America will look like when your children are your age. And I tell you,

we are on the verge of the greatest age of possibility in human history. The young people in this audience will have more chances to live out their dreams than any generation has ever had. There are many of you in this audience who before long will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Many of you will be doing jobs that have not even been imagined yet.

When I became President, there were 3 million people working in their homes. Today, there are 12 million. Four years from now there will be 40 million people. That's just one example. Things are changing so fast that we're building a supercomputer with IBM that will do more calculations in a second than you can do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. Things are changing.

We have differences on the budget. We have differences on crime. We have differences on the environment. I believe we can preserve the environment and grow the economy, and I don't think we can grow the economy over the long run unless we do preserve the environment. It's an honest difference of opinion.

We have differences on issues like Medicare and Medicaid. The Medicaid program for 30 years has allowed families to maintain a middle class lifestyle, even if a member of their family was severely disabled, because people could work and still get some help for medical care for their loved ones. It's enabled people to go into nursing homes in their later years, and it has national standards of quality care. It's enabled poor children to get good care from the moment they're born. They wanted to take away that 30-year guarantee. I thought it was wrong. You can decide. I think that's one of the things we ought to do together.

But the most important issue before you is your education and the education of those who will come behind. Because in a world that is changing as it is, if you really want all the American people to have a chance to go into that future together, we've got to guarantee all our children world-class education. I want that to be the lasting legacy of this administration.

And I ask you to think of this. There are still 40 percent of the 8-year-olds in America who cannot read a book on their own. But

I have a plan to mobilize 1 million volunteers to go out to the parents and the teachers of this country and help teach those kids to read. We got 200,000 more work-study slots out of this last budget for college students; I want 100,000 of them to go to young people who say, "Send me. I will go. I will teach the children to read." Will you help? Will you help us do that? [Applause]

You heard Wendell Ford talking about my dream that within 4 years every classroom and library and every school in America can be hooked up to the information super-highway. Think what it would mean if the children in the most remote Appalachian schools and the children in the biggest, poorest urban school districts were, together with the students in the richest, middle class, suburban, urban, rural school districts all over America—the first time ever, all these kids got access to the same information in the same way at the same time. That would revolutionize learning in America. It would explode the potential of our children. Will you help us do that? [Applause]

The last thing I want to say is, I am very proud that we've reformed the student loan program to make it less costly and to let people pay their loans back as a percentage of their incomes so no young person need fear going broke when you borrow money to go to college. I'm proud that 70,000 young people are in AmeriCorps, I'm proud that we got the biggest increase in Pell grants in 20 years, but we must do more. I want to open the doors of college to all Americans, and if you give me 4 more years, that's exactly what I intend to do.

Now, I want to make 2 years of college after high school as universal as a diploma in high school is today, and we can do that simply by saying, you can deduct from your tax bill, dollar for dollar, the cost of a typical community college tuition. I want to open the doors to all 4-year colleges and to graduate school by saying you can deduct from your tax bill up to \$10,000 of tax deduction for the college tuition at any college and university in the United States today. Will you help us do that? Will you? [Applause]

Folks, let me say, in our politics today there is too little discussion of these issues and too much finger-pointing and insulting.

In the end, when you're like me and you come to the end of more than 20 years of endeavor, I have to tell you something. I want to say this for our friends on the other side, too. Most of the people I've known in over 20 years of public life in both parties, people with different—who have disagreed with me, people who ran against me for office, most of the people I've known loved our country, worked hard, and were honest people. We just have honest differences of opinion.

Today, I still feel that way. But you must also understand the honest differences of opinion. And you are now the judges in that court of public opinion. These differences are being brought to you. Are we going to say, "You're on your own," or are we going to build a bridge to the 21st century we can all walk across? Is our education program going to be abolishing the Department of Education or opening the doors of college to every single American who wants to go?

These are the decisions for you to make. This is a very great country. Its best days are still ahead. You can make sure that the 21st century is a time of unparalleled opportunity for all Americans, and you can do it only if you decide that we have to work together without regard to race, region, religion, or income. We've got to work together. We've got to be able to say to one another, "If you are willing to show up tomorrow and say you believe in this country and its timeless values, you're ready to show up for work or school and do your part, we don't need to know anything else about you. You are part of our America, and we're going to build the greatest country the world has ever seen in the 21st century." Will you help us do it?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you be there tomorrow?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you elect Steve Beshear to the Senate?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. We need you. Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:15 p.m. at the University of Kentucky. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Pam Miller of Lexington; Gov. Paul E. Patton and Lt. Gov. Steve Henry of Ken-

tucky; Mayor Jerry E. Abramson of Louisville; Bob Babbage, chair, Kentucky Democratic Party; Steve Beshear, Kentucky senatorial candidate; actress Ashley Judd; and Rick Pitino, men's basketball coach, University of Kentucky.

Remarks in Cedar Rapids, Iowa *November 4, 1996*

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you. Iowa, are you ready to build that bridge to the 21st century tomorrow? [Applause]

Let me begin by thanking those who have joined us to entertain us tonight and to keep our spirits high: the Iowa City High School Marching Band, the All-City Flag and Drum Corps, the Coe College Concert Band. Thank you all very much. Thank you.

I want to thank those people who are here, too numerous to name, who have been so important to me, to Hillary, to our administration and our efforts. I want to commend to you our candidates for Congress back here. I've gotten to know them. I was together with them in Indianola not very long ago. I believe that Leonard Boswell and Donna Smith and Bob Rush will do a good job for you, and I hope you will help them to win tomorrow as well.

You know, I have had two incredibly memorable experiences in Cedar Rapids, and they reflect a lot of what I have tried to do as President. Not very long ago I was here to dedicate the National Czech and Slovak Museum. And I brought with me, as you remember, the President of the Czech Republic and the President of Slovakia. And we had a wonderful day here—a little cold, but we had a great day. [Laughter] And we celebrated this mystery that is America, that we can meld together people from different ethnic groups and different religions and different races and different tribes and different views and still hold our country together and grow stronger.

And as we look around the world at the heartbreak of Bosnia; at the continuing heartbreak in Northern Ireland, where my people are still fighting over what happened 300 or 600 years ago; at the heartbreak of the Holy Land in the Middle East, the home of the

world's three great monotheistic religions; as we look on our television news now at the heartbreak of these hundreds of thousands of refugees driven out of their refugee camps because people are still fighting tribal wars, even though no one has enough to get along on and if they'd work together it would be so much better—I thought to myself that cold day in Cedar Rapids, how fortunate we are that we live under a Constitution and a system where all of us are created equal, accorded equal status, and given the chance to live up to our God-given abilities. And I will always remember Cedar Rapids for that.

The other thing I remember is a rally I had here in 1992 at the Quaker Oats factory. I met a remarkable woman in that factory who had led the work of the people there in recycling paper and promoting a clean environment while growing the economy. I met a child with an unusual physical problem, abnormality from birth, who was otherwise a beautiful child. And it was before I became President. I looked at that child, and I saw how much that child's mother loved him. And I picked him and held him, and I said to myself, if I win this race for President, I will never rest until we have done everything we can in medical research to make as many people in America whole as possible. It is a part of our common obligation.

And then I remember seeing a woman, whom I later got to know quite well—she may be here tonight—a white woman holding an African-American baby. And it was interesting because we were being demonstrated against, kind of like you're being treated to at the last of this campaign. There were people holding signs on both sides of the abortion issue, and they were shouting at one another. And this woman was just standing there quietly in the crowd, holding this child of another race. And I said, "Where did you get this baby?" And she said, "This is my baby. This baby was born HIV positive, and no one would take this child in Florida, so I adopted this child. I'm doing the very best I can." She was already raising another couple of kids on her own. And she said, "I don't mind those people having that debate back there, but if we're really going to be pro-life and pro-child, I wish they'd all come along with me and adopt some of these kids. We need to build a better life."

And not very long ago I had the honor of signing the minimum wage bill, which Senator Harkin talked about, which also did some wonderful things for small business—made it easier for small-business people to take out pensions on themselves and their employees and for the employees to take the pension from job to job, and made it easier for self-employed people to buy their own health insurance and gave them more tax relief for doing it. But that bill had another little-known provision which I'm particularly proud of. And on the day I signed that bill I thought of that woman holding that child, because that bill gives a \$5,000 tax credit to Americans who will adopt children who need a home.

Now, I say that to make this point: To me that is what our public service is all about. To me that is what our public life is all about. And I think it is amazing that in so many elections in the 11th hour, with an avalanche of funds and emotions, people can be asked to suspend their convictions about issue after issue after issue after issue, based on a concerted attempt to convince the voters that somehow their opponent is some sort of an alien to their values.

And I wanted to be in Iowa on the last night of my last campaign in my entire life—I wanted to be in Iowa because, first of all, because it's a tight race and I want to carry the State—I mean, let's be honest—[*laughter*]*—*but also because this State is a place where I always feel at home, and I always have from the very first day I crossed the border and came here, and because I always felt that a people who had brought in enough crops and seen enough droughts and seen enough floods—you know, after that flood you all had before, you had everything but a plague of locusts visited on you there—[*laughter*]*—*that had seen all of life's ups and downs, all the rational and irrational things that can happen to you, and still were bound together and working together and producing the kind of schools Iowa is producing, producing the kind of economy Iowa was producing—I always felt that here you could talk sense to people and people could look at you in the eye and tell whether you were worth supporting and worth believing in. And I always love coming here.

And I want to say to you tonight, I would not presume to tell anyone in Iowa for whom to vote in any other race. I went home to Arkansas to campaign with some of my friends on Saturday, and there was a big article in the paper. It said, "President's visit mixed blessing," and then it had every single time a President had come to Arkansas to try to get people to vote for somebody, and they had always voted for the other person. So I told the people, I said, "This is no surprise to me. You didn't let me tell you who to vote for when I was just a Governor." [*Laughter*]

So I wouldn't say that. But I want you to know three things I know about Tom Harkin and about Ruth and their family. And you make up your own mind about what you're going to do with that information between now and tomorrow, in terms of whether you could go home tonight and still call somebody and change a vote. You know, when you leave tonight, most people won't be in bed, even in Iowa. [*Laughter*] Most people are not going to be in bed. You could still do some good tonight, and I want you to think about it.

The first thing I want you to know is this, I spent a lot of time with Tom and Ruth Harkin when nobody else was looking, when there were no cameras around, no reporters around, no speech to give, no one to impress, no gain from anything. They are good people. They love their children, they love their country, and they love this State.

And I want to say, I understand—I don't normally get involved in local advertising campaigns, but I understand that Senator Harkin's opponent has actually run an ad against Ruth. They got that—you know, they started on Hillary, and now they're down to the Senate spouses. [*Laughter*] I wish they'd just pick on us. But anyway, saying that Ruth Harkin really wasn't qualified for the job I gave her; she only got it because she was Tom's wife. If you believe that, I've got some land way out in the ocean I'd like to sell you. [*Laughter*]

Let me tell you something, folks, one thing I knew I had to do for you is to deliver on the economy. I knew that. And I made up my mind I was going to do some things that had never been done before. I was not going

to appoint just someone who was a politician who had supported me at the Department of Commerce, I was going to appoint somebody I thought would be good. I was not going to appoint someone that I thought would be a good political appointment but someone who could really produce in the trade office. I was going to appoint somebody who was not just a political appointment but someone who had actually created small businesses at the Small Business Administration. And at Ruth Harkin's job, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, I was going to appoint somebody I thought could help create jobs in America by getting opportunities for us overseas.

Now, I know what that ad says, but let me tell you, like so many of their ads against us, they have a huge problem with something called the evidence—the evidence—the evidence. [*Laughter*] She, Ruth Harkin, in spite of the fact that she's married to Tom, has the finest record of achievement of any person who has ever held that position in the Federal Government of the United States of America. And there are more Americans working, more businesses profiting and our economy is stronger because I appointed her. And I'm glad I did, and I'd do it again tomorrow.

Now, I'll tell you something else. I'm for Tom Harkin because he'll fight. I know; I've been on the other side of a fight with him, you know, once before. [*Laughter*] He'll fight. And if he's for you and he believes it's right and he thinks that Iowa needs something, if he has to stand all by himself in a whirlwind, he will stand right there until he is blown away. He will not walk away from you and from our country.

The other night we were on the campaign plane, you know, and you practically get silly, you're so tired, on these campaign planes. You can just imagine how it is, you know, how exhausted you get. And your conversation wanders off into all kinds of things; it's amazing. And this was before we scheduled to come here tonight. And we were having a talk about politicians and people in public office and who they were and how they were and everything. And somebody looked at me and said, "If you were in a desperate situation with enemies closing in on all sides and you

were all by yourself and you had to pick one person who would stand there and fight with you to the very end, who would you pick?" And I did not miss a breath; I said, "Tom Harkin of Iowa—Tom Harkin of Iowa."

You need to think a long time in Iowa before you trade in a man that gave you the Americans with Disabilities Act, a man that has fought for medical research, a man that has fought for education, a man that has fought for farmers, a man that has fought for this country. You need to think a long time before you trade in someone like that for a person who marched to the beat of the Speaker Gingrich's army in 1995 and threatened to send this country back after all the progress we've made.

The second thing I want to say is, Tom Harkin fought for us when it counted. When the Republicans won the Congress in 1994 with their contract on America—how many times has Mr. Lightfoot talked about the contract on America in this campaign? How many times have they told you what a wonderful thing it was and how they pushed it? How many times have they bragged on cutting Head Start and cutting college loans and paralyzing our ability to implement environmental protection? How many times have they bragged on stripping a 30-year guarantee of quality medical care through the Medicaid programs to middle class families who have family members with disabilities, to elderly people in nursing homes, to getting rid of the quality standards—even the standards—of guaranteed quality in our nursing homes, to taking the quality of care, the guarantee of care away from newborn babies just because they're poor? Have they talked about that very much in this campaign?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. I'm telling you, I see it all over America. They're praying for amnesia on your part. [*Laughter*]

Vice President Gore—who incidentally is jealous that he's not here tonight and I am—he told a story today in Cleveland that we used to tell each other in Arkansas and I'd forgotten. But it's a good story, and you'll appreciate it in Iowa.

He said there was a politician out on the country road running for office, and he came upon a farmer who was sitting up on his

porch. There was an old dog laying out there in the yard. He said, "Sir, I'd like to come ask you for your vote. Will your dog bite." He said, "No." So the guy hiked over the fence, went up, shook hands with the farmer. And just as he was asking for the vote, the dog got up and ran up and bit him right in the rear. So he ran back and got in his car and rolled the window down and said, "I thought you said your dog wouldn't bite." He said, "That ain't my dog, son." [Laughter]

Now, that's what they want you to think about that budget that I vetoed. But it is their dog. It is their dog. And I thought it was a mangy old dog, and that's why I vetoed it, because I did not want to see our country divided.

And then they shut the Government down; not once but twice they shut it down and said, "You will take these \$270 billion in Medicare cuts and our attempt to split Medicare apart." You know, we have—American senior citizens have the lowest poverty rate ever recorded in history now and the highest life expectancy of any group of seniors in the world in part because of Medicare. We have to reform it, but I'm not going to wreck it. That's a high class problem, having people living longer and well. I'm proud of that achievement. Every American should be proud of it.

And they said, "We're going to make you take it, or we'll shut the Government down." And I looked around and I counted how many people were going to be on that field with me, because the President's veto is no good unless somebody will stand with him. And Tom Harkin was first in line. And what we told them was, "Go on and shut the Government down. We'd rather see the American people hurt for 30 days than 30 years, and we will not go along. We will not go along. We will not go along."

But the third thing I want to say to you is, notwithstanding their attempts to sort of distract and divert the American people and divide us here, this country is in better shape than it was 4 years ago, and we need to keep going until we build that bridge to the 21st century. This is a happy time. This is a great time for America.

Of all the countries in the world, we've had the best growth for the last 4 years. We

have the lowest deficit. If you take the big seven economies, we have created by far more jobs in America than all the other countries put together, 10.7 million more than we had 4 years ago. We're moving in the right direction. We need to bear down and go on. Farm exports at an all-time high—we've opened new markets for all kinds of things. And I'm telling you we are moving in the right direction. And the most important thing is when you vote for President tomorrow, when you vote for Senator tomorrow, when you vote for Congress tomorrow, you have to ask yourself, "We're going into this new century; things are changing. What do I want my country to look like, and what do those guys or those women have to do about it?"

Now for years, since I have been your President, I take a little time every day to ask and answer this question, what do I want my country to look like when we enter the 21st century? What do I want my country to look like when our daughter is our age? And for me it's pretty simple. I want the American dream to be alive and well for everybody responsible enough to work for it. I want America to lead the world indefinitely for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I want us to beat the odds when the rest of this old world is being torn apart by their differences; I want us to relish and respect our diversity and say, we share the same values and we're going forward together. That's what I want America to look like.

Now, your vote will determine whether that happens in Iowa. Your vote will determine whether we keep on going and balance the budget with a targeted tax cut we can afford for education and childrearing and buying a first-time home and dealing with medical costs and not charging people taxes when they sell their home. We can pay for that one and still protect Medicare and Medicaid, invest in education and the environment and technology and the future of these young people; or their plan, which is a big old scheme, sounds great at election time: a bigger deficit, higher interest rates, bigger cuts than the ones I vetoed when they shut the Government down. And they're still trying to raise taxes, as Tom said, on those 8 million working families making modest incomes. Your vote will decide.

I think you know which vote will build a bridge to the 21st century. Will you seize the opportunity tomorrow to help us do it? Your vote will decide—your vote will decide—

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Let me ask you this. You heard Tom Harkin talking about the crime bill. One of the most troubling things in America has been the high rates of violence among our people, especially among our young people. Now we have 4 years of declining crime, a 10-year low in the crime rate. We're halfway through implementing that crime bill Tom Harkin voted for in 1994 to put 100,000 police on the street. They were against it. Then they killed it in the budget I vetoed. Then they tried to stop it all over again. Now, why in the wide world they would oppose something that we are doing together that is working is beyond me. But they are.

So if you want to finish the job and you want 8 years of declining crime and you want our children to be able to grow up on streets and in neighborhoods and be in schools that are truly safe, you've got to help us by helping us to build a bridge with Tom Harkin, with these candidates for Congress, with Bill Clinton and Al Gore for safer streets and a brighter tomorrow.

If you want—

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Let me say, Tom Harkin talked a little about health care, and so did Hillary. I'd like to brag on them both, but you'd be here till dawn if I did that. We have made a beginning on health care reform, but here is another choice. I want you to think about it.

Their budget will do nothing to advance the cause of health reform. Our budget—balanced budget—adds another million children to the ranks of those with health insurance, children of lower income working people, gives free mammograms to Medicare women, free mammograms. Our budget says to people who are between jobs, if you lose your job and your income, we'll help your family keep health insurance for 6 months. Our budget says we'll help families with respite care, the nearly 2 million American fami-

lies that are courageously caring for family members with Alzheimer's. And our budget says, we're going to spend another billion dollars on medical research over and above what they will, because we have uncovered two genes that cause breast cancer. We have determined a cure—a treatment for the first time for strokes. We have seen for the first time movement in the lower limbs of laboratory animals whose spines have been completely severed because of nerve transplants from the legs to the spine.

We are moving to break down the barriers of knowledge, and we are going to keep going until we have reformed the health care system in a way that makes it work for all Americans. And your vote will decide. Your vote will decide.

Your vote will decide. Your vote will decide, most important of all in shaping the 21st century, what we do about education. We know what their program is. Their program is fewer Head Start positions, cut student loans, and eliminate the Department of Education. That's their big deal, eliminate the Department of Education. They say it's a big bureaucracy. Two percent is bureaucracy; 98 cents is money we're pumping to your schools, your colleges, and your students. I say we don't want to eliminate the Department of Education.

I want to do three things. I want to make sure, first of all, that every 8-year-old in this country can read a book independently by the third grade; 40 percent can't now. We're going to mobilize an army of a million people to go out and work with teachers and parents to do that. A hundred thousand of them will be college students who are going to get new work-study slots because of the work that Tom Harkin and this administration did in the Congress this year.

I want to hook up—I want every classroom in Iowa and every classroom in America to be hooked up not only with computers but computers that are linked through the Internet, through the World Wide Web, through the information superhighway. What it means is, is that people in the smallest school in Iowa, people in the most remote school district in Alaska, people in the poorest inner-city school district for the first time in history will have access along with all other

wealthy, middle class, and poor districts, urban, suburban, and rural districts, all of them together for the first time in the history of America will have access to the same learning in the same way at the same time. Will you help us do that? Will you go out for Tom Harkin tomorrow to do that? Will you help us? [Applause]

And finally, let me say to all these young people here, one thing we know is that education will no longer be the province of people who are 18 and under. We know now that nearly everybody needs to go much further. We know now that most people will have to learn for a lifetime. We know now that the young people in this audience today, many of them within a few years will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet, and some of you will be doing jobs that have not been imagined yet. And therefore, we must open the doors of college education to every single citizen of this country who is willing to work for it. It is time.

Let me say to all of you, I am proud that we kept our commitment in 1992 to set up a national service program, AmeriCorps, that has allowed 70,000 young people to serve their communities and go to college. I am proud that we had the biggest increase in Pell grants in 20 years. And I am proud that we have increased work-study grants by 200,000 and that we reformed the student loan program so people can now borrow money at lower cost and pay it back as a percentage of their income, so no one ever need fear going broke by borrowing the money to go to college. I'm proud of that, but we must do more. We must do more.

And if you give us a chance to serve tomorrow, we're going to do two things. Number one, we're going to say people ought to be able to take off their tax bill, dollar for dollar, the cost of a typical community college tuition so we can make 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school diploma is today by the year 2000. Number two, more Iowa families ought to be able to save in an individual retirement account and withdraw from it without any penalty if they're using the money for a college education or health care or home buying. And thirdly, everybody ought to be able to have a tax deduction of up to \$10,000 a year for

the cost of college tuition, undergraduate or graduate. Will you help us do that tomorrow? [Applause] Will you help make that part of our bridge? [Applause] I can't hear you. Will you do it? [Applause]

Now, let me say I am very grateful to you for the votes that you gave to me and to Al Gore 4 years ago. I know how hotly contested this State has been. I know that the State is more or less evenly divided and that there are a lot of people who are independents who will vote either way. But I say to you, this is not an election for party; this is an election for country and for people. Remember the stories of the people from Iowa I told you at the beginning of my remarks. Every day for 4 years, I have gotten up and gone into that Oval Office and tried to do something that would help to create more opportunity, to insist upon more responsibility, and to bring us closer together in an American community.

We are better off than we were 4 years ago. We have a better plan for the future. Our best days are still ahead. And the fundamental choice that underlies all these issue differences is as crystal clear as can be. We believe that we're better off when we work together to help each other make the most of our own lives. They believe you're on your own. They believe it's okay to say, "There's a future out there. It will be pretty exciting if you get there, and I hope you do." I believe every single one of us are better off if we roll up our sleeves and join hands and build that bridge to the 21st century together. We need you tomorrow. Go call someone! Go ask someone to vote! Go do your work tonight; we'll see you tomorrow!

Thank you. God bless you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:10 p.m. at the Five Seasons Center. In his remarks, he referred to Leonard Boswell, candidate for Iowa's Third Congressional District; Donna Smith, candidate for Iowa's Second Congressional District; Bob Rush, candidate for Iowa's First Congressional District; President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic; and President Michal Kovac of Slovakia. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks in Sioux Falls, South Dakota

November 4, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you. Well, I didn't expect to see so many of you here this late at night. Senator and Mrs. Daschle; Senator-to-be and Mrs. Johnson; Congressman-to-be and Mrs. Weiland. And I want us to give a real good hand here to Rick Weiland and his fine wife. They've done a great job out there campaigning, give them a hand. [Applause] Pam Nelson, thank you for your candidacy. Give Pam Nelson a hand. Stand up, Pam. She needs your help tomorrow. [Applause] I want to thank CeCe Peniston for singing so beautifully; the Bill Gibson Orchestra. Thank you, South Dakota State University Marching Band. You were fabulous.

Now, you know, if the rest of us can maintain that level of energy till the polls close tomorrow night, we're going to be just fine, and this is great. We're going to be fine. Thank you.

And I want to thank my long-time friend who was with me 4 years ago on this night under similar circumstances. He's going to bring us good luck again, Jerry Jeff Walker and his band. Thank you for being here. God bless you, friend.

You know, folks, I appreciate what Tom Daschle said in thanking us for our lavish attention to South Dakota and all that. It's not complicated. I like it here. I like coming here. I enjoy being here. I feel at home here. I feel this is a place where people still know their neighbors and where they care about what happens to their neighbors and where they understand, in the best sense, as Hillary often says, it does take a village for us to raise our children and build our future.

This is the last election of the 20th century for President, the first election of the 21st century, an election occurring against a background of almost breathtaking, unimaginable changes in technology and science, in the way we are simply organized to work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world. The young people here in this audience today, in a few years many will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Many will be doing jobs that have not been imagined yet.

One little piece of evidence about how much the world is changing: When I became President there were 3 million Americans who were living and working in their homes, making a living. That was 4 years ago. Today, there are 12 million Americans doing that because of technology, and 4 years from now there will be 30 million Americans doing that.

We just signed a contract, the United States did, with IBM to develop a supercomputer that will do more calculations in one second than you can do at home tonight on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. That is an example of what is happening.

I say that to make this point: This is an election of enormous consequence, not because of Tim Johnson or Bill Clinton but because of the sweeping changes going on in our country. And the great question is, how shall we respond to those changes?

There's been a lot of back and forth in this campaign that I think is, unfortunately, a byproduct of much of modern politics, a lot of negative stuff. My experience has been that most people in public life in both parties are good, honest, hard-working people who give their lives to their country and love their country. In this case we just have different views. And you should be happy about that because in an election of great consequence there ought to be a clear choice and you ought to have some way of measuring whether the choice you're making is right. And I would argue to the people of South Dakota—I know that there are more registered Republicans than Democrats here; I know there are a lot of registered independents here. This vote tomorrow should be the first vote of the 21st century. It ought to be a vote about people and progress and hopes and dreams. Party is not nearly as important tomorrow as reaching out for our dreams and our deepest hopes for our children, and that is what I am asking.

Now, you know, maybe some of you have noticed this, but I am now speaking at the last rally of the last campaign I will ever run. And I'm honored to share it with you. It's hard for me to believe that this January it will be 23 years ago when, as a young 27-year-old man, I asked the people of my rural hill country congressional district in Arkansas

to send me to Congress. They said no, by the way. [Laughter]

And everybody thought I was washed up. Then I got to be my State's attorney general and Governor, and then in the Reagan landslide of 1980 they said no again. [Laughter] By the time I was 34 years old, I had already been defeated twice. I was in Ripley's already. I was the youngest ex-Governor in the history of America. [Laughter] But the people of my home State were good to me. We learned a lot together, and we did a lot together. And 4 years ago you gave me the chance to be President.

The American people 4 years ago took us on faith when I said that I hated what had happened in politics in Washington; it was too much hot air, too many insults, not enough issues, not enough results, not enough people reaching across the partisan divide and working together in a new and different time to try and build a new politics for America. I said that if you elected me, I would follow a vigorous and disciplined approach: more opportunity for everybody, more responsibility from everybody, and an American community in which everyone who works hard and is responsible has a place at the table and a role to play. We have done that for 4 years, and you don't have to guess anymore.

Our friends on the other side, they honestly believe that we're better off when we're on our own. I think we're better off when we work together to give each other not a guarantee but a chance to make the most of our own lives and our families and our future. And you don't have to guess anymore.

This economy is stronger than it was 4 years ago. The deficit has gone down by 63 percent and there are 10.7 million more jobs and the lowest rates of unemployment and inflation in 27 years. Something that's always been important to hard working families in this part of our country is that everybody who works hard ought to have a fair share. We've had the biggest decline in inequality of incomes among working people in 27 years, the biggest drop in child poverty in 30 years, the lowest rate of poverty among seniors in America ever recorded since we've been keeping statistics. We are moving in the right direction to the 21st century. We are.

And in our country as a whole the crime rate has gone down to a 10-year low. The welfare rolls have dropped by nearly 2 million. Child support collections, by the way, are up by about 50 percent. And more children are getting what they are entitled to. Our economy is in better shape than it was 4 years ago, but so is our environment. We've taken millions of tons of pollutants out of the atmosphere, raised the standards for safe drinking water and the purity of food. And I might add, we've done that with the support of the agricultural community. We've cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than our opponents did in 12.

So we're moving in the right direction. And you have this clear choice. They say all these terrible things they say about all of us, you know, but it obscures the fact that we're moving in the right direction, that we have now 4 years of evidence that "you're on your own" is not nearly as good as we're working together to build a bridge to the 21st century we can all walk across. And that's what this is about.

Now, there is another very important piece of evidence here, and that is when our friends in the other party were in power and were given the power to enact their "Contract With America"—by the way, how many times has Congressman Johnson's opponent mentioned that contract in this election? But anyway, they did it, and it wasn't just the House under Newt Gingrich. It was the Senate under Senator Dole. They did it together. And they passed their version of what they thought America's future ought to be. They did it all by themselves. They told us they didn't want our help, they didn't want our votes, and they weren't interested in our input. They wanted to do it, and they wanted to show America what they wanted to do.

And we saw. We saw. They passed a budget which cut 3 times as much from Medicare as was necessary to save the Trust Fund and divided the program so that the oldest, the poorest, and the most ill of our seniors ran the risk of being put in a second-class program at a time when it wasn't necessary and at a time when we know it's wrong. We've got the lowest poverty rate we ever had among seniors. And in America, if you live to be 65, you have the highest life expectancy

of any group of seniors in the world. That's a high-class problem. Why would they mess that up? That's what they tried to do.

They also took the Medicaid program, which has for 30 years provided a guarantee of health care to poor women and infant children, to middle class families with family members with disabilities so they could take care of their family members and still work and maintain their middle class lifestyle, to a lot of our seniors in nursing homes and standards for those nursing homes and they got rid of all that. And they cut education funding from Head Start to college loans for the first time in modern history, abolished the Department of Education, abolished the program to put 100,000 police on our street, which has played a critical role in bringing the crime rate down, and paralyzed environmental enforcement and cut it back by 25 to 30 percent. That's what they did. They also—oh, by the way—raised taxes on 9 million of our hardest pressed working families and gave companies the authority to raid their workers' pension funds. We went through that in the 1980's. In 1994, Tom Daschle and Tim Johnson and I passed a worker protection pension act to protect the pensions of 40 million retired and still working people, and they wanted to turn around and undo that. That's what they did.

Now, along toward the end of this last Congress they adopted our program. They said, "Oh, we've got to go face the voters. We'll give the President what he wants." And they hope you have this case of collective amnesia. *[Laughter]* The Vice President told a story today in Cleveland when we were together—I had forgotten this story; we used to tell it at home all the time—but it captures what they're trying to get you to think about their budget.

It's a story about a politician who's out in the country, and he sees a farmer. He's running for office, and the farmer is sitting up on his porch rocking, and he says, "I'm going to go talk to this farmer," but there's a big old dog in the yard that's ferocious looking. So he says, "Sir, I'd like to come visit with you, but does your dog bite?" He said, "No." So he hikes over the fence, goes over on the porch, shakes hands with the farmer and tells him he's running for the legislature and

would like to have his vote. And the dog runs up and bites him right in the rear. *[Laughter]* And he runs back and jumps in his car and rolls the window down and said, "I thought you said your dog didn't bite." He said, "Son, that ain't my dog." *[Laughter]*

And let me tell you something, folks, that budget that I vetoed, it is their dog, and it was a mangy old dog, and that's why I vetoed that dog. And everybody—and I'll tell you, if you reward them, everybody—oh, I can see it all now in the columns the next day—well, that budget wasn't so unpopular after all. You have to decide.

They said, "Well, the Democrats—Tom Daschle, Tim Johnson, people like that—they love the Government so much they'll never let us shut it down, and we'll just make the President cave. We'll put them all on their knees. If they don't take our budget and let us shove it to the American people, we'll just shut the Government down, and we'll show them who's boss."

And they did it, and we didn't cave. And they did it again, and we didn't cave. And what I finally told them was, I said, "Look, I hate to see the American people inconvenienced for 30 or 40 days, but that is nothing to seeing the American people hurt, divided, and set back for 30 or 40 years. Shut her down. We are not going to cave." Thank you, Tim Johnson, for staying there. Thank you.

Now, let me give you an idea of what the practical impact of that was on you. I was in Denver the other night and we had a nice little indoor rally like this—I think you got more folks here tonight. But they were really great, though. We had a great rally, and after the rally I did what I always do: I started at one end, went to the other end, just shook hands with everybody I could reach. And while I was moving in a space about like this, I met the following people: I met a young woman who started crying who thanked me for the work we were doing in trying to combat domestic violence and violence against women. She was obviously a victim. That was in the crime bill that they opposed. So if they had had their way, it wouldn't be law.

Then I met a young woman in a police uniform from a smaller community in Colorado thanking me for the five new police officers that her community had, and she was

going to feel safer on the street and the kids were going to be safer in her community. That was in the crime bill, and that was in the budget that they tried to do away with. All those police officers, they wouldn't have been there.

Then I met a young man who had dropped out of college and went back when we changed the college loan program so you could borrow a lot of money and then pay it back as a percentage of your income so young people would never be bankrupted by borrowing the money to go to college. They did away with that, too. They tried to kill it, and they did away with that.

Then I met a man who told me that he and his wife had just adopted a 2-month-old baby, and his wife was able to go home and make that child more comfortable in their new circumstances without losing her job because of the family and medical leave law. And they led the fight against that. This happens to me all the time.

Then I met a young woman who was going to college because she'd worked in AmeriCorps, the national service program, serving her community, and earned the money to go to college. Seventy thousand young people have done that. They are solving problems and helping people all across America, and they did away with that in the budget.

Now, those are just people that I just ran into in a line just like this in South Dakota. This has huge consequences for America. Now, I know that in Congressman Johnson's race there's a lot of talk about clout. And that's an interesting concept, clout. [Laughter] It looks to me like you'd have a lot of clout if Tom Daschle were the majority leader of the Senate. You would have a lot of clout because everybody in the entire United States Congress, in both parties, who knows him respects Tim Johnson as one of the most hard-working, effective, intelligent, persistent Members of Congress in the entire country.

And you'd have a lot of clout because the President likes Congressman Johnson and listens to him. And when he says, "Mr. President, you're wrong; you shouldn't do this. This, this is what's in the best interest of the

people of South Dakota," I would be highly likely to listen to Tim Johnson if he said this.

So it makes a difference. You know, the title is not enough. There's a difference. You have to draw these distinctions. It reminds me of my other favorite dog story. [Laughter] You know about—this guy is going down the highway, and he sees this sign that says, "George Jones, Veterinarian/Taxidermist. Either way you get your dog back." [Laughter]

It makes a difference. Tim Johnson will have good clout. He'll be very, very good, and he won't be using a committee chairmanship to saddle the American people or the people of South Dakota with the kind of budget that I had to veto that would have divided this country and set us back. He'll be building a bridge to the future.

So you ought to go to the polls tomorrow happy and upbeat and feeling good about your country. You ought to go to the polls tomorrow with absolutely no doubt in your mind that the best days of America lie ahead. But you should be heavily aware of the responsibility you and all Americans bear to seize this opportunity to say, if we're going to meet the challenges we face, if we're going to seize the opportunities we have, we have to do this together. There are some things we must do together. I talked about that supercomputer. The richest person in this audience tonight cannot afford to build that.

Every American who won a Nobel Prize this year in physics and chemistry started with a public research grant. The Internet, which is going to be the salvation of so many people in rural areas, allowing them access to things they would never have otherwise, started as a Government research project. It's now in the private sector where it belongs, but I just announced another investment of \$100 million to modernize and expand it because when we all get on we don't want it to break down. We want it to take us out to the rest of the world.

Now, we have to do some things together. So your vote is going to decide whether we go on and balance this budget, have a targeted tax cut for education, childrearing, health care, and home buying that we can afford in a balanced budget, protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment; or whether we go back and replay what

happened before with their big, risky tax scheme that still raises taxes on the hardest pressed working people, will require bigger cuts in those things than the ones I vetoed, will blow a hole in the deficit, and violates every fiscal principle that I know that the people of South Dakota, Republican, Democrat, or independent, all believe in. You have to decide. Let's go on and balance the budget and build that bridge to the 21st century. You will have to decide. You have to decide.

You have to decide whether we're going to finish the work of the crime bill and put a whole 100,000 police on the street; whether we're going to continue to support the safe and drug-free schools program which we have doubled so that more people will be out there telling these young people drugs are wrong, illegal, they can kill you. This is not the time to turn back on that problem. There's still too many kids out there raising themselves. They need a strong hand and guidance, and I want to give it to them. We dare not cut back on that program and walk away from it. You have to decide.

I say let's keep bringing the crime rate down. In 4 more years we might actually feel safe in this country again if we can do it. You have to decide.

You have to decide whether you really believe, not just something to cheer about on the eve of an election but whether deep inside you believe that America will never be what it ought to be until we give all of our children and all of our adults now access to world-class educational opportunities with high standards, accountability, technology, and all the benefits that the best schools have. You have to decide.

Let me just give you an example. I want to do three things. Number one, you know 40 percent of the 8-year-olds in this country still can't read a book on their own. A lot of them come from places where their first language is not English. That will be cold comfort to them when they can't learn later on because they didn't learn to read when they were young. We have a plan to mobilize a million volunteers. We have 100,000 more work-study slots that we'll make available to college students if they'll teach 8-year-olds to read. I want to go into the schools and work with the parents so that by the year

2000 every 8-year-old in this country can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." Will you help me do that? Will you help us do that? [Applause]

The second thing I want to do—we had an event about this in South Dakota not very long ago. I think the Vice President was here. We are working hard to connect every classroom and every library in every school in America to the information superhighway by the year 2000. And here's what it means. It means that children in every American tribe in America, children in the poorest rural school districts, children in the most remote districts in Alaska, children in the biggest—poor inner-city school districts in our biggest cities; children in urban, suburban, and rural districts; rich, poor, middle class—for the first time in the history of America, because of these connections we can make available the same learning from all over the world at the same level of quality in the same time to all of our children. It will revolutionize education. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [Applause]

And finally, when you look at these college students, let me say that we must—we must—open the doors of college to all Americans. And we can do this, number one, by making 2 years of college as universal as a high school diploma is today. In 4 years we can do it by simply saying you can deduct from your tax bill, dollar for dollar, the cost of the typical community college tuition. All you have to do is go and make your grades and do your business.

Number two, I want to make it possible for more people to save in an individual retirement account, but withdraw from it tax-free if the money is used for education or home buying or health care.

And finally, something that would help virtually every person in that band up there. I think the people ought to be able to deduct up to \$10,000 per year for the cost of tuition at any college or university in any place in the United States. Now, will you help us do that? [Applause]

But again, I say, all these issues, all these divisions, they're not a matter of party. Every time we go through a period of big change, we are given an opportunity not only to increase our prosperity, not only to make our

lives more interesting but to build stronger families and stronger communities and to live closer to our values. That is what this election is about.

This is the last speech of my last campaign. If you came up to me and said, "What have you learned in 23 years that never changes?" I would say, when people look into their hearts and they ask, "What is the right thing for my children and for my family and for America's future," when they set aside their prejudices and embrace people of different racial and religious and ethnic groups who share their values of work and family and belief in the Constitution, when they roll up their sleeves and work together, America always wins.

This is the greatest country in human history because we have created a system in which you are the boss. Tomorrow you will be the boss, and you will go in there, and you will be asked, will we renew President Clinton's contract? You will be asked—you're going to be asked, should we hire Tim Johnson to be our Senator? Should we hire Rick Weiland to be our Congressman? Should we hire Pam Nelson to be our corporation commissioner? You're going to be asked these questions. But the real question is, are we going to do it together? That's what I've learned. I have learned that when we are divided, when we look down on each other, when we look for what these politicians call wedge issues to divide each other, to win a campaign because we get people in a lather so there's more heat than light in our debates and discussions, we always get hurt.

But when we join hands and run our country the way you try to run your families, your churches, your farms, your factories, your businesses, your communities, your charities, when we do that, we always win. There is no person living in this country today who knows that better than I do. There is no person living in this country today who has been given more gifts, who feels more humble on this night than I do. Fifty years ago, when I was born in a summer storm to a widowed mother in a little town in Arkansas, it was unthinkable that I might have ever become President. I'd like for you to believe I did it because I always worked 60 or 70 hours a week, I had an understanding and support-

ive and wonderful family, and I just did it. But it isn't true. I did it because at every step along the way for 23 years and long before, there was a Sunday school teacher, a teacher in school, a doctor, the guy running the Red Roof in my hometown who always stopped and talked to me and tried to give me encouragement when I was despondent, over and over and over. We just need to run our country the way we want to run our lives. That is what I have learned in 23 years, and that is what I ask you to vote for tomorrow as we build our bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, God bless you, and good night. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:40 p.m. in the Sioux Falls Arena and Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Linda Daschle, wife of Senator Tom Daschle; Tim Johnson, South Dakota senatorial candidate, and his wife, Barb; Pam Nelson, candidate for public utilities commission; singer CeCe Peniston; and musician Jerry Jeff Walker.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Iraq

November 4, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102-1) and as part of my effort to keep the Congress fully informed, I am reporting on the status of efforts to obtain Iraqi compliance with the resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council. This report covers the period from September 5 to the present.

Saddam Hussein's attack on Irbil in late August and his continuing efforts to manipulate local rivalries in northern Iraq to his advantage, provide new evidence that he remains a threat to his own people, to his neighbors, and to the peace of the region. As I detailed in my last report, the United States responded to Saddam's military action in the north by expanding the Southern no-fly zone from 32 degrees to 33 degrees north latitude. The U.S. response included strikes against surface-to-air missile sites, command and control centers, and air defense control facilities south of the 33rd parallel in order

to help ensure the safety of our forces enforcing the expanded no-fly zone.

Since my last report, we have further strengthened the U.S. presence in the region in order to deter Saddam. In September, we deployed two heavy battalions of the Third Brigade of the First Cavalry, one Patriot battery and eight F-117 stealth fighter aircraft to Kuwait. We also deployed 23 advanced F-16 aircraft to Bahrain and one Patriot battery to Saudi Arabia. These forces were sent to the area, in addition to the forces that were already deployed to the region, as a tangible deterrent to any Iraqi aggression. In early September, the USS Enterprise Carrier Battle Group was deployed to the Gulf, joining the USS Carl Vinson Carrier Battle Group already there; the USS Carl Vinson Battle Group redeployed from the Gulf on October 8.

The no-fly zones over northern Iraq (Operation Provide Comfort) and southern Iraq (Southern Watch) continue to be enforced by U.S. and coalition forces. The Turkish parliament must consider renewal of Operation Provide Comfort before the end of December.

We issued strong warnings to Iraq on September 6 and 16, via our UN mission in New York, not to challenge our aircraft enforcing the extended no-fly zone or to restore damaged Iraqi air defenses. Saddam appears to have backed away from his earlier violent rhetoric. We will continue to monitor Iraqi action carefully and are well-positioned to respond to any future challenges.

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 949, adopted in October 1994, demands that Iraq not threaten its neighbors or UN operations in Iraq and that it not redeploy or enhance its military capacity in southern Iraq. In view of Saddam's reinforced record of unreliability, it is prudent to retain a significant U.S. force presence in the region in order to maintain the capability to respond rapidly to possible Iraqi aggression or threats against its neighbors.

The situation in northern Iraq remains volatile. This Administration has continued efforts to bring about and maintain a ceasefire and reconciliation between the two major Kurdish groups involved in that fighting, including maintaining an active dialogue

with both. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Robert Pelletreau met with Massoud Barzani, the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), in Turkey on September 18 and October 21. Assistant Secretary Pelletreau also met with Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) leader Jalal Talabani on October 22, and follow-on meetings with representatives of the KDP and the PUK took place on October 30 and 31 in Ankara. In these and other high-level meetings, this Administration has consistently warned both groups that internecine warfare in the north can only work to the advantage of Saddam Hussein.

In response to the increased uncertainty in northern Iraq, we temporarily withdrew the United States Government presence (the office of Foreign Disaster Assistance and the Military Coordination Center). In September and October, with the assistance of Turkey, we conducted a humanitarian evacuation of approximately 2,700 residents of northern Iraq whose lives were directly threatened by the Iraqi regime because of close ties to the United States Government or the Iraqi opposition. The first 2,100 of these individuals, evacuated in mid-September under Operation Quick Transit, were employees of United States Government agencies with offices in northern Iraq and their families. A second group of approximately 600 Iraqi opposition members was evacuated October 19-21. All of the evacuees are being processed on Guam under the U.S. refugee resettlement program.

We remain concerned about the safety of local employees of U.S.-funded and U.S.-based nongovernmental organizations that remain in northern Iraq. We have sought and received assurances from the KDP and PUK about their safety. We are keeping their security situation under active review and are continuing to consider all options to ensure the safety of these employees and their families.

The United States, working through the United Nations and humanitarian relief organizations, continues to provide humanitarian assistance to the people of northern Iraq. Security conditions in northern Iraq remain tenuous at best, with Iranian and PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) activity adding to

the ever-present threat from Baghdad. We see no role for Iran in the area and continue to advise all concerned not to involve themselves with Tehran.

We also continue to support the United Nations Secretary General's decision, in light of the changed circumstances on the ground, to review carefully the procedures for implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 986, which provides that Iraq may sell a certain amount of oil in order that they may use part of the proceeds to purchase food, medicine and other materials and supplies for essential civilian needs and that allocates proceeds to be used to fund vital UN activities regarding Iraq. We want to see the resolution implemented, as written and intended, in a way that ensures that humanitarian supplies to be purchased under the auspices of UNSCR 986 will actually be received by the people who need them.

On October 9, United Nations Undersecretary Gharekhan reported to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) that the Government of Iraq is now seeking to negotiate aspects of the plan to implement UNSCR 986 related to the number of monitors and restrictions on the movement of UN personnel within Iraq. This action to renegotiate the plan—a plan that was agreed to by the Iraqis and that was memorialized in a Memorandum of Understanding between the Iraqis and the United Nations on May 20—is likely to delay implementation of UNSCR 986 even further.

The Government of Iraq has, since my last report, continued to flout its obligations under a number of Security Council resolutions in other ways. Under the terms of the Gulf War cease-fire with Iraq—outlined in UNSCR 687—Iraq must grant the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM) inspectors immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted access to any location in Iraq they wish to examine and access to any Iraqi official whom they wish to interview, so that UNSCOM may fully discharge its mandate. Iraq continues, as it has for the past 5 years, to fail to live up either to the letter or the spirit of this commitment.

UNSCOM Executive Chairman Rolf Ekeus briefed the UNSC on his most recent,

semiannual report on October 17. The Chairman's report outlined in comprehensive detail Iraq's past and ongoing efforts to conceal evidence of its Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) programs and otherwise obstruct the work of the Commission. As long as Saddam refuses to cooperate fully with UN weapons inspectors, UNSCOM will be impeded in its efforts to fulfill its mandate to ensure that Iraq's WMD program has been eliminated. We will continue to fully support the mandate and the efforts of the Special Commission to obtain Iraqi compliance with all relevant UN resolutions. We will not consider any modification of UNSC resolutions.

On October 1, implementation of the export/import monitoring mechanism approved by the Security Council in Resolution 1051 started. Resolution 1051 approved a mechanism to monitor Iraq's undertaking to reacquire proscribed weapons capabilities; it requires that countries provide timely notification of the export to Iraq of dual-use items.

Iraq also continues to stall and obfuscate rather than work in good faith toward accounting for the hundreds of Kuwaitis and third-country nationals who disappeared at the hands of Iraqi authorities during the occupation or toward the return of all of the Kuwaiti military equipment stolen during the occupation, as well as priceless Kuwaiti cultural and historical artifacts looted on instructions from Baghdad. Additionally, Iraq continues to provide refuge for known terrorists.

Iraq's repression of its Shi'a population continues with policies aimed at destroying the Marsh Arabs' way of life in southern Iraq as well as the ecology of the southern marshes. The human rights situation throughout Iraq remains unchanged. Saddam Hussein shows no signs of complying with UNSCR 688, which demands that Iraq cease the repression of its own people.

The Multinational Interception Force (MIF) continues to enforce the sanctions regime against Iraq. In September and the first half of October, four north-bound and five south-bound vessels were diverted to various ports in the Gulf for sanctions violations. Several of these vessels contained illegal cargo hidden beneath humanitarian shipments and over 3 million gallons of illegally exported Iraqi petroleum products were intercepted.

The expeditious acceptance of these recent sanctions-violating vessels by Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates greatly contributed to our strong deterrent posture and provides further evidence that the MIF is a valuable resource in sanctions enforcement.

We continue to meet one of our key foreign policy objectives by maintaining the multinational composition of the MIF. New Zealand recently sent a ship back to operate with the MIF; the United Kingdom maintains a nearly continuous presence with our forces in the northern Gulf; and we are hopeful that in early 1997, Canada, Belgium, and The Netherlands will all send ships to rejoin the MIF. We are continuing our efforts to engage the international community in maritime sanctions enforcement.

Most of the ships engaged in sanctions violations during this period were flagged in the United Arab Emirates. At our urging, the Government of the United Arab Emirates recently announced stricter penalties for sanctions violators. We remain hopeful that these actions will discourage operations from the United Arab Emirates that violate UN sanctions against Iraq.

Iran continues to contribute to sanctions violations by allowing vessels leaving Iraq to transit territorial waters in order to avoid the MIF in the northern Gulf. We have presented evidence of Iranian complicity in sanctions violations to the UN Sanctions Committee and have urged the Committee to formally denounce these actions.

Our policy with respect to sanctions enforcement remains firm; sanctions continue to send a clear message to the Government of Iraq and those who would defy UN resolutions for profit that there will be no modification or relaxation of sanctions until Iraq has fully established its peaceful intentions by complying with all UNSC resolutions.

The United Nations Compensation Commission (UNCC), established pursuant to UNSCR 687, continues to resolve claims against Iraq arising from Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait. The UNCC has issued over 980,000 awards worth approximately \$4.0 billion. The UNCC has authorized only limited payments for fixed awards for serious personal injury or death because Iraq refuses to comply with all rel-

evant UN Security Council resolutions, and UN economic sanctions remain in force.

Currently, the UNCC faces a serious financial crisis in funding awards and daily operations. If Iraq eventually sells the full amount of oil authorized under the provisions of UNSCR 986, the proceeds of the sale will be transferred to the UN escrow account opened for that purpose, with 30 percent allocated to the Compensation Fund to finance awards and operations of the UNCC.

To conclude, Iraq remains a serious threat to regional peace and stability. I remain determined to see Iraq comply fully with all of its obligations under UN Security Council resolutions.

My Administration will continue to oppose any relaxation of sanctions until Iraq demonstrates its peaceful intentions through such compliance.

I appreciate the support of the Congress for our efforts and will continue to keep the Congress informed about this important matter.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Strom Thurmond, President pro tempore of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 5.

Statement on the Heart Bypass Surgery of President Boris Yeltsin of Russia

November 5, 1996

President Yeltsin underwent heart bypass surgery today in Moscow. On behalf of the American people, I want to convey our very best wishes for his full and speedy recovery. Our thoughts are also with Mrs. Yeltsin and the Yeltsin family.

We are pleased to see the reports that the surgery was a success. I have spoken with Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, who confirmed that the operation went well, and who expressed gratitude for the assistance provided to the Russian doctors by Dr. DeBakey and his team.

Over the last 4 years, the United States and Russia have taken important steps to build a safer, more peaceful world. We look forward to continuing the close work between our two countries as we lay the foundation for a bright, new century.

Remarks at a Victory Celebration in Little Rock, Arkansas

November 5, 1996

My fellow Americans, thank you for being here. Just 4 years from now we will enter a new century of great challenge and unlimited possibility. Now, we've got a bridge to build, and I'm ready if you are.

Today the American people have spoken. They have affirmed our course. They have told us to go forward. America has told every one of us, Democrats, Republicans, and independents, loud and clear, it is time to put politics aside, join together, and get the job done for America's future. In the last 4 years we've made remarkable progress, but in our schools, our families, our workplaces, and our communities, our journey is not done. My fellow Americans, we have work to do, and that's what this election was all about.

I want to say to all of you here and to all of the American people, no words can convey the gratitude I feel tonight for the honor that has been given to me. It is an honor that belongs to many: first to my family, to my wonderful wife of 21 years, who from the day I first met her began teaching me that it does take a village to raise our children and build our future; to our daughter, Chelsea, for understanding the work we have done together, the burdens it has imposed. Today I went down to the train station to vote in the last election in which I will appear on the ballot. And as I have done in every year since she was born, I took Chelsea to the ballot with me. And as we looked at the ballot together and discussed the issues there, I thanked God that I was born an American.

I thank the members of my wonderful family who are here, my stepfather Dick Kelley, my wonderful mother-in-law, Dorothy Rodham, and all the others. And I thank

my beloved mother who is smiling up there and said, "I never had a doubt, I always knew it would be this way."

I thank the friends of my lifetime. There are people who have stood with me through thick and thin, who started with me in grade school, in junior and senior high school, in college, and all across the years since, friends who knew me and knew my dreams and stood as a powerful force against those who sought to stop America's progress with the politics of personal destruction. Thank you, my friends. Thank you for what you did for America.

I thank the people of my beloved native State. I would not be anywhere else in the world tonight. In front of this wonderful old capitol that has seen so much of my own life and our State's history, I thank you for staying with me so long, for never giving up, for always knowing that we could do better.

I thank the finest Vice President this country has ever seen. Because of Al Gore, we have a stronger and more secure relationship with a democratic Russia; we are exploring the wonders of new technologies for the benefit of America; we are protecting our environment; and we have reinvented America's Government so that it does more with less, thanks to his leadership. It is a legacy unique in the history of this Republic.

I thank Tipper for her friendship, for her crusades on behalf of our children and the mental health of the American people, and for always standing with us, along with her children and her family.

I thank the members of our administration, the Cabinet members, the members of the White House staff. I thank all those who are part of the permanent service to the President at the White House, the medical staff. I thank especially my Secret Service detail that has been so challenged by a President determined not to be isolated from the American people.

I thank the members of our campaign staff, all those who have served in this election and the work you have done. I thank the leaders of our party in the Congress, in the statehouses. I thank all those who stood for what we believe in in these elections today, those who won and those who did not. You did a service to America by raising the

things in which we believe. And I thank you all and wish you Godspeed.

I want to thank the employees of the Nation's Government. They have had to do a remarkable job. We have reduced the size of our Government to its smallest point since President Kennedy served, and yet they have continued to serve the people better year-in and year-out. They had to do it in the face of enormous challenges and outright hatred for momentary periods. They have had to live with the horror of Oklahoma City and the difficulties that came along the way. But the people who served us deserve our thanks, and I thank them.

I thank those who served this administration and our cause who are no longer here tonight. And one especially I must thank, my friend and brother, Ron Brown. You're looking down on us, and I know you're smiling, too.

On a purely personal note, I must thank my pastor, Rex Horne, who prayed with me before I came out here tonight, and all the ministers and people of God who prayed for me and with me over these last 4 years. There were a few especially, and they know who they are, who came to the White House time after time, in good times and bad. When the times were bad they reminded me that God gave St. Paul a thorn in his flesh so he would not become exalted in his own eyes and that certainly was not a problem for me in the bad times. [*Laughter*] When the times were good, they reminded me that humility is always in order in the Presidency, for in this life we see through a glass darkly, and we cannot know the whole truth of our circumstances or the motives of those who oppose us. I thank them all for bringing me closer to God and to the eternal wisdom without which a President cannot serve.

I would like to say a special word of thanks to Senator Dole. And I ask you to join me in applause for his lifetime of service to the United States. [*Applause*]

And I thank Jack Kemp for his service to America and his devotion to the proposition that this is a country in which everyone should have a chance to live free and equal and to have a chance at success.

Let me say, I had a good visit with Senator Dole not too long before he went out to

speak. I thanked him for his love of our country, for his years of service. I applauded the campaign that he fought so bravely to the very last minute. I thanked him for the work we did together to advance the common cause of America. And on behalf of all Americans, I wish him well and Godspeed.

Four years ago, on these very steps, we set forth on a journey to change the course of America for the better, to keep the American dream alive for everyone willing to work for it, to keep America the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity, to come together as one American community. The time was one of widespread frustration and doubt about our economic and social problems, about our ability to deal with the vast sweep of change that was all around us. The scope and pace of those changes were threatening to many, and our values seemed to be under attack on all sides. But together, you and I vowed to turn our country around, with a strategy to meet our challenges and protect our values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, an American community of all Americans.

We have worked hard to end the politics of who's to blame and instead to ask, what are we going to do to make America better? Tonight we proclaim that the vital American center is alive and well. It is the common ground on which we have made our progress. Today our economy is stronger, our streets are safer, our environment is cleaner, the world is more secure, and thank God, our Nation is more united.

To all the men and women across this country who have created our jobs, taught our children, patrolled our streets, and kept America safe throughout our world, I say America's success is your success; this victory is your victory. I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

Now, my fellow Americans, a vast new century lies before us. It will be a time more full of opportunity for people to live out their dreams than any in human history. We have committed this night to continuing our journey, to doing the hard work that will build our bridge to the 21st century, to give the young people here and those all across America the America they deserve and their children and their children's children.

But we have work to do. We have work to do to keep our economy growing steady and strong, by balancing the budget while we honor our duties to our families, our parents, and our children, and our duty to pass on to our children the Earth God gave us. We have work to do to give all of our children the gift of an education, to make sure every 8-year-old can read; every 12-year-old can log on to the Internet; and yes, every single 18-year-old in this country willing to work for it can have a college education.

We have work to do to make the permanent under class in this country a thing of the past, to lift our fellow citizens who are poor from the degradation of welfare dependency to the pride and dignity of work. We have work to do to strengthen our families; to help our parents succeed at home and at work; to keep our children safe from harm in their schools, their streets, their homes, and their communities; to clean up our environment so that our children can grow up next to parks, not poison; to tell them that drugs are wrong and illegal and they can kill them; to teach them right from wrong.

My fellow Americans, I will do all I can to advance these causes. But all our citizens must do their part to continue the upsurge of personal responsibility that in the last 4 years has brought crime to a 10-year low, child support collections to an all-time high, and reduced the welfare reform. Will you help me do that? *[Applause]* We must do it together.

We must make our democracy stronger by enacting real, bipartisan campaign finance reform. Talk is no longer enough; we must act and act now. And the American people will be watching the leaders of both parties to see who is willing not just to talk but to act. I am willing to act, and I ask others to join me.

And we must keep America the world's indispensable nation, finishing the unfinished business of the cold war, meeting the new threats to our security through terrorism and the proliferation of dangerous weapons and seizing these extraordinary opportunities to extend our values of peace and democracy and prosperity.

Every American here tonight and every American within the sound of my voice can

take pride in the fact that in these last few years, for the first time in all of human history, a majority of the human beings living on this globe live under democracies where the people rule.

The challenges we face, they're not Democratic or Republican challenges, they're American challenges. What we know from the budget battles of the last 2 years and from the remarkable success of the last few weeks of this Congress is the lesson we have learned for the last 220 years: what we have achieved as Americans of lasting good, we have achieved by working together.

So let me say to the leaders of my Democratic Party and the leaders of the Republican Party, it is time to put country ahead of party. We do not know the final outcome of the congressional elections, but we know this: the races are close; the American people have been closely divided; the Congress, whatever happens, will be closely divided. They are sending us a message: work together, meet our challenges, put aside the politics of division, and build America's community together.

On this beautiful night, when we have shared so much joy and so much music and so much laughter and so much pride, it is hard for me to believe that it was 23 years ago when I first began to go to the people of Arkansas to ask for their support. The most lasting and important thing that I have learned in all those 23 fleeting years is this: When we are divided we defeat ourselves, but when we join our hands and build our families and our communities and our country, America always wins. What we need to do is to do the work of America the way we seek to do the work of raising our children and doing our work and supporting our religious institutions and our community institutions. If we would simply be Americans, the way we seek to live in all of our other roles, there is no stopping America. Our best days are still ahead.

And so I say, when we look into our hearts and simply ask what is right for the American people and the future of our children, when we set aside our differences and build on our shared values of faith and family and work, when we roll up our sleeves and work together, America always wins. And my fellow

Americans, America is going to keep winning these next 4 years.

Let me say that, as all of you here from my native State know, I believe this and I have tried to live by it because there is no person in America who has been given more gifts than I have; there is no person in America tonight who feels more humble in the face of this victory than I do. Fifty years ago, when I was born in a summer storm to a widowed mother in a small town in the southwest part of our State, it was unimaginable that someone like me could have ever become President of the greatest country in human history. It has been, for me, a remarkable journey, not free of failure but full of adventure and wonder and grace. I have worked hard to serve, but I did not get here on my own.

Every step along the way, for these last 23 years and long before, there was a teacher, a doctor, a neighbor, a parent, a friend, a wife, a daughter who always had time to care, who always tried to give me instruction and encouragement, and who never gave up. I got here tonight, my fellow Americans, because America gave me a chance.

That is what all the children of America deserve. Our people have to give them the tools to give them not a guarantee, but that real chance to live up to their God-given potential. And I ask you to join me in that commitment. Every child deserves the main chance that I was given.

And so I say, again, let us resolve to run our country the way we try to run our lives. Whether you are the party of Thomas Jefferson or the party of Abraham Lincoln, whether you're an independent or unaffiliated, remember that we all belong to the greatest Nation in history. To us much has been given and much is still expected. We must rise to the challenge of building that bridge to the 21st century.

Tonight is a night for joy not just for us here but for all Americans. For the 53d time in our history our people have made their quiet and deliberate decision. They have come together with their powerful voice and expressed their will. Tonight we celebrate the miracle of America. Tomorrow we greet the dawn and begin our work anew.

I am more grateful than I can say. You have given me an opportunity and a responsibility that comes to few people. I will do my best. And together, we will—we will—build that bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you. Good night, and God bless America. Thanks.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 p.m. on the steps of the Old State House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Prevention of Importation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

November 4, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I am writing pursuant to section 229 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997, to inform the Congress that the United States has the capability to prevent the illegal importation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons into the United States and its possessions.

The United States Government has developed and maintains myriad international and domestic programs to prevent the illegal importation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) into the United States. The scope and nature of our approach is essential because at least 20 countries have or may be developing nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. Moreover, terrorist groups have become increasingly capable, often employing lethal, wide-ranging and sophisticated operating methods and technical expertise. This trend is exacerbated by the spread of dual-use technologies, many of which have legitimate civilian or military applications.

Our response to this multi-dimensional threat begins far from our borders. The Departments of Defense and Energy, for example, have developed programs that have succeeded in eliminating or more fully safeguarding tons of fissile materials in the former Soviet Union. These materials—essential to nuclear weapons production—could be targeted for acquisition by terrorist groups or pariah nations and used against the United States. We also are assisting Russia in the elimination of the chemical weapons

stockpile it inherited from the Soviet Union, and an interagency group is working with Kazakhstan in the conversion of a former chemical weapons production facility to civilian use.

Diplomacy is another instrument for combating the potential illegal importation of WMD. At the 1996 Moscow Nuclear Summit, the United States, Russia, and our G-7 partners agreed on an international program to combat illicit trafficking in nuclear materials. To this end, the Intelligence Community has expanded its liaison relationships with foreign intelligence services, and similar relationships have been expanded among law enforcement organizations. In addition, the indefinite extension in 1995 of the Non-Proliferation Treaty strengthens our efforts to control the spread of nuclear weapons. The United States also is working with other members of the International Community to help deny terrorists and rogue states access to chemical and biological weapons by ratifying and bringing into force the Chemical Weapons Convention, and by concluding a legally binding protocol to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention.

Prevention of WMD importation also receives high priority for intelligence collection. This is particularly important because one of our first lines of defense is to discover the hidden plans and intentions of countries and groups of concern well before we have to confront their weapons or efforts to smuggle these weapons into the United States. Because of intelligence successes and cooperation with foreign governments, the United States has halted the international transfer of a large amount of equipment that could be used in WMD programs. The efforts of our intelligence and law enforcement agencies are supported by a Department of Defense initiative to develop special technologies—including BW/CW sensors to counter terrorist WMD threats.

Within the United States, the FBI has been assigned the lead law enforcement role in responding to threats or acts of nuclear, chemical, and biological terrorism. The FBI's criminal jurisdiction is based in Federal statutes, including title 18 and title 42 of the United States Code, which address planned or attempted acts of nuclear, chemical, and

biological terrorism. Moreover, in April 1996, title 18 was amended to prohibit transactions involving nuclear byproduct materials, providing additional statutory authority over radiological threats. While the probability of a major terrorist or criminal-related WMD incident occurring in the United States cannot be realistically quantified, to date all of the threats investigated by the FBI have been determined to be noncredible. Nonetheless, the FBI is aggressively pursuing countermeasures and readiness programs to respond to a threat to develop, use, or import WMD.

As the Nation's primary border enforcement agency, the Customs Service has taken the lead in working with other United States Government agencies to prevent any attempts to illegally import WMD into the United States. During the past year, the Customs Service program has focused on preventing illegal trafficking in prohibited materials and components as well as their delivery means. The Customs Service also initiated a major research and development effort aimed at detecting any nuclear devices or materials being smuggled across this Nation's borders. Various detection means were tested and a pilot test was conducted at the JFK Airport in New York in 1996. The Customs Service also has played a leading role in developing a Border Enhancement Training course for 10 countries in parts of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

In conclusion, the United States Government has devoted significant resources to developing the capability to detect and prevent efforts to illegally import nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons into the United States or its possessions. These efforts range from international cooperation to domestic law enforcement. I take this threat seriously, and my Administration will continue to strengthen our capability to prevent illegal importation of such weapons. In this regard, the funding provided in the National Defense Authorization Act will enhance our existing capabilities.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This

letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 6.

Remarks at a White House Victory Celebration

November 6, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you. Well, you know, I really appreciate that lesson in history from the Vice President. *[Laughter]* I'll tell you one thing—you remember what John Nance Garner said about the Vice Presidency; he said it wasn't worth a warm—what—kettle of spit, or something like that. *[Laughter]* That's before Al Gore got a hold of it. Nobody will ever say that again—ever, ever, ever say that again.

And just for your information, George Clinton of New York, doubtless a relative of mine—*[laughter]*—the only man in America ever to be the Governor of a State in excess of 20 years. He served for 21 years as Governor of New York. He served 4 years and then laid out and served 17 years, until he became Vice President. And that's a pretty good record. *[Laughter]* It just sort of runs in the family, you know. *[Laughter]*

I want to tell you all—first to the White House staff and to all the appointees who are here; to the members of the Clinton/Gore campaign, from our wonderful campaign manager, Peter Knight, on down; and to the members of—the people who work for our Democratic Party campaign. I want to say a special word of thanks to Don Fowler and Chris Dodd; they did a wonderful job, all the people at the party; to our terrific Cabinet over here on the left. You know, they've labored for 4 years to uphold the dignity of our Government, and they sort of changed their image today. *[Laughter]* That picture of Warren Christopher in that T-shirt gets out—*[laughter]*—he'll be on Letterman and Leno within 48 hours. I thank you all so much.

Last night I had a chance to do something really quite wonderful for me. I was able to have a meeting with—when I was home in Arkansas—with everybody who ever worked for me there—at least we invited them all—the people who worked for me 20 years ago when I was attorney general, the people who worked for me during all my five terms as

Governor. And I told them something I want to tell you; that is I have always been a very hard-working, kind of hard-driving person. I'm always focused on the matter before me. Sometimes I don't say thank you enough. And I've always been kind hard on myself, and sometimes I think just by omission I'm too hard on the people who work here.

You have accomplished a phenomenal amount in the last 4 years, and you have proved that even in this vast country of ours, where the Government is only one part of our national partnership and billions upon billions of decisions are made every day by people who are not in our Government—thank goodness we are primarily a country of free individuals with a free enterprise system—but you have proved again something that was clearly in doubt in 1992 at election time. You have proved that with disciplined, sustained, focused effort, America can be changed for the better.

You have proved that our problems are not all intractable. You have proved that we can galvanize the energies of the American people and that we can, in fact, bring the deficit down—it's not a permanent feature of American life—we can, in fact, grow the economy on a sustained basis; we can, in fact, improve the education and the educational opportunities of our children; we can, in fact, lower the crime rate; and in fact, if people will help us enough in communities across the country, we can even help to change some of the very difficult cultural patterns that had begun to develop in our country over the last several years. You all did that.

Very often, I get the credit for the work you do, and then when something goes haywire, if I make a mistake, you have to try to figure out how to clean it up. *[Laughter]* And I appreciate that. *[Laughter]* And I'm sure I'll give you other opportunities in the year ahead. *[Laughter]*

I just want you to know, all of you, from the Cabinet to the staff, to the appointees, to all the others who are here, you should be very proud of this. This is not—this race was won because of the record we made and because of the plans we have and because we have established in the minds of the American people that it's more than talk with us, that we work at it hard every day. All

of us: we work hard. And in the end that's what sustained us—a vision, a strategy, hard work, and success. And we have a lot more work to do. But when our work is done and when there is 8 years of sustained, disciplined effort, we will have gone a long way toward preparing our country for this new century.

I can't even imagine what the world is going to be like, but I try to imagine it all the time, 20 or 30 or 40 years from now. And we are lucky enough to just be here at a moment in history when it is our profound obligation to move the American people closer to what they believe by opening up new opportunities for people to live out their dreams, and when we have the opportunity to prove that we can actually reduce our problems. We have to keep working on that.

We've got a lot to do. I talked a little about it last night. But I begin this new tenure with high opportunity and with renewed energy and with profound gratitude to the American people and to all of you. Two years ago, not many people thought we would be here. But I believed if we just kept doing the right things, kept trying to do them in the right way, and kept working hard and refused to be distracted by the things which dominate too much of our public life today, in the end the American people would render the right judgment.

I am profoundly grateful for what they did last night and very very grateful to all of you for making it possible.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:25 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Donald L. Fowler, chairman, and Senator Christopher J. Dodd, general chairman, Democratic National Committee.

**Executive Order 13023—
Amendments to Executive Order
12992, Expanding and Changing the
Name of the President's Council on
Counter-Narcotics
November 6, 1996**

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 301 of title 3, United States Code, and in order

to change the name of the "President's Council on Counter-Narcotics" to the "President's Drug Policy Council" and to make the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Education, Veterans Affairs, and the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, permanent members of the Council, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. The Council established by Executive Order 12992 shall henceforth be called the "President's Drug Policy Council."

Sec. 2. Section 1 of Executive Order 12992 is amended by deleting "President's Council on Counter-Narcotics" and inserting "President's Drug Policy Council" in lieu thereof.

Sec. 3. Section 2 of Executive Order 12992 is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 2. Membership. The Council shall comprise the:

- "(a) President, who shall serve as Chairman of the Council;
- "(b) Vice President;
- "(c) Secretary of State;
- "(d) Secretary of the Treasury;
- "(e) Secretary of Defense;
- "(f) Attorney General;
- "(g) Secretary of the Interior;
- "(h) Secretary of Agriculture;
- "(i) Secretary of Health and Human Services;
- "(j) Secretary of Housing and Urban Development;
- "(k) Secretary of Transportation;
- "(l) Secretary of Education;
- "(m) Secretary of Veterans Affairs;
- "(n) Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations;
- "(o) Director of the Office of Management and Budget;
- "(p) Chief of Staff to the President;
- "(q) Director of National Drug Control Policy;
- "(r) Director of Central Intelligence;
- "(s) Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- "(t) Counsel to the President;
- "(u) Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff;
- "(v) National Security Advisor to the Vice President; and
- "(w) Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy.

"As applicable, the Council shall also comprise such other officials of the departments and agencies as the President may, from time to time, designate."

William J. Clinton

The White House,
November 6, 1996.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register,
8:45 a.m., November 7, 1996]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on November 8.

Remarks at a Victory Celebration at the National Building Museum

November 6, 1996

Thank you. Thank you. Let me join Tipper and Hillary and Al in telling you how glad I am to see all of you. I'm sorry we couldn't get everybody into the limited hotel space in Little Rock. Although, somehow or another, we had about 50,000 people in the street.

It's been a wonderful day. And I am full of gratitude to all of you and to all those whom you represent. I thank my Cabinet; I know that at least Secretaries Riley, O'Leary, and Brown are here. But all of them worked very, very hard. I thank Don Fowler. And along with Hillary and Tipper and Al and all of you, I send our prayers and best wishes to Don and his wife tomorrow. And I thank Chris Dodd for speaking out in his brave and aggressive and incredibly articulate way. And we did pretty well in Connecticut last night. I think that the people there agreed with him instead of all those that were attacking us and running us down.

I thank Marvin Rosen for taking on this hard job and doing it well and Peter Knight and all of our wonderful campaign staff and Richard Sullivan all the people at the DNC. I thank Terry McAuliffe and Laura Hartigan; they worked so hard with all of their people to make sure our campaign was financed early and well.

I want to thank those who entertained us tonight, and thank all of you. There are a lot of people in this audience and around this country who played a major role in this campaign.

I feel I have to say a special word of thanks to the mayors that are here. I know that Dennis Archer and also Mayor Ed Randall of Philadelphia are here. I don't know if there are any other mayors, but if there are mayors or Governors here I don't know about, I still—I thank you very much for what you've done. Thank you, Reverend Jesse Jackson, for what you did in this campaign and what you do in every campaign, all the miles you traveled, all the speeches you gave. Thank you, for going to California and standing up, as I did, for what we believe. We don't always win when we stand up for what we believe, but we always come out ahead. And I thank you, sir, for that.

Let me say that a campaign is a fascinating thing—the people who give and give and give of their time, their money, their heart. This was an unusual campaign for me, in terms of the difference from the one before, because this time, everywhere I went I could actually see the evidence of our collective endeavors.

I was in Denver the other night and we had a nice little crowd and then folks were standing by the ropeline the way you are. I just was walking down the ropeline, and I started shaking hands with people. And within 5 minutes, I met a young woman who had obviously been a victim of domestic violence, who thanked me for the Violence Against Women Act, the hotline, the fact that we were moving to bring down domestic violence.

Then there were three women standing there with a little sign that said, "Thank you for putting more money into breast cancer research," who knew that we had uncovered now two of the genes which cause breast cancer and may someday be able to not only actually cure those cancers early but even to find out enough to prevent them in the first place.

And then I met a man—a big, big man who reached across four or five folks and shook hands with me and said, "I wish my wife were here tonight, but we adopted a baby 2 months ago and because of the family leave law, she's able to take a little time off from work to integrate that baby into our home life without losing her job."

And then I met a young man who said he had dropped out. But when we passed this new law to reform the college loan process so that he could pay the loan back as a percentage of his income and he didn't have to worry about going broke anymore, he had gone from being a college dropout to a good student in microbiology.

And then I met a lovely young woman who happened to be the daughter of one of the Federal agents who was there, who was a police officer in a smaller community in Colorado, who thanked me for the law enforcement part of the crime bill because her community was about to get five more police and she thought the children of her community would be safer and she would be safer doing her job because she was going to have help. That was in 5 minutes.

I was in Longview, Texas, the other day. We had 13,000 people at 8 in the morning, and that's hardly a hotbed of liberalism. [Laughter] I met a young, single mother with two children who had gone back through the AmeriCorps program to serve in her community, get off public assistance, and was now going to the Kilgore Junior College there. And I met another woman whose husband had cancer, who got to save her job while she took care of her husband because of family leave. And I met a man who was a Vietnam veteran there with his wife. And he asked me—he said, "What did you all ever do with that bill to help the veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange whose children got spina bifida?" And I looked at him, and I said, "I signed it yesterday, and now those people will get disability as well as medical benefits for the first time." And he was real tall, so I was looking up at him—he was a head taller than I was—and he said, "Well, thank you very much for her." And I looked down at his little girl who was 12 years old in a wheelchair who had 12 operations because she contracted a condition that almost certainly she got because her husband served our country 20 years ago.

This is what this whole deal's about to me. You know, all this political business that you read in the newspaper, who's doing what and all that. And let me say something else. A lot of you contributed to our campaigns; a lot of you really stretched the limit; a lot of

you went out and raised money for our campaigns. And you knew good and well you could have gotten a more direct benefit if you had put your money into the other side. I mean, they told you you'd get a big tax cut, and you maybe could have had other things. And you did it because you wanted your country to grow together.

As you know, I have said for 5 years, I think we ought to find a different system of financing our campaigns. But I want you to know that I appreciate that fact that you helped us stay competitive, even though the Republicans still raised \$150 million or more, more than we did. We were able to stay competitive because people like you believed in the common ground of America. And I thank you for that. And I thank all of you for that. We had unprecedented financial support from the African-American community, from the Hispanic community. And I want to say as an Irish-American, I appreciate the support we got from every ethnic group, from the Jewish-Americans, from the Greek-Americans, and yes, from the Asian-Americans. I'm proud to have your support, and I thank you very much for it.

And let me say also, there are lots of other people who worked in our campaign. I went back to New Hampshire—I started my last day of my last campaign where we began our quest for the Presidency. And early in the morning in New Hampshire, on that last day, the 60 people who started out with me in 1991 and stayed with me when my death warrant was pronounced by the experts, gathered in a little restaurant. And they had all these pictures up everywhere. One of them was a young boy named Mike Morrison who was only a high school junior when I ran the last time and is now in college and was finally able to vote for me. And he said, "Mr. President," he said, "I'm in college now, and I'm a straight-A student." And I said, "Well, Mike, what do you like? What's your favorite courses?" And he said, "I like creative writing and critical thinking, and I'm writing essays." And he said, "You know, my teachers at our school, they think I should submit my essays to magazines, Readers' Digest and some others." And we talked about it awhile, and I thought about the first time I saw that boy joining with his high school classmates, carry-

ing my banner down the middle of the aisle at New Hampshire Democratic Convention.

Mike Morrison gets up every day and gets into a wheelchair. And he's a big, strong boy, and he was raised by his mother on a very modest income. He worked hard for me in 1992. And on election day, he promised to be a poll worker, but his mother's car broke down. It was a cold winter day in New Hampshire, and Mike Morrison took his wheelchair 2 miles along the side of a highway from his home to the polling place to be there, to give us a chance to do what we have done these last 4 years.

And the thing I'm so proud of about our campaign is that we've got all kinds of people with all kinds of abilities. And all of us have some disabilities. And we have together made a difference, partly because we decided we were going to do what we were doing together. Justin Dart went to every State in America to organize Americans with disabilities for the Clinton/Gore campaign. That's one reason we won some of those States. God bless you, and thank you. There are people here who organized Republicans for Clinton/Gore, and I thank you for that. And I thank you for what you did. Your numbers were significant.

And last night, when the vote came in and all across the country, I thought of all the people I had met along this journey and all the people whose lives have been touched and how much better off we all are when we work to give everybody not a guarantee but at least a chance, a real chance to be what God meant them to be.

I am very proud of you. I want you to be very proud of this campaign. I want you to be very proud of what has happened. There are millions and millions and millions of people whose lives have been directly touched by the fact that we offered them a chance to have a second chance to have their main chance to be what they ought to be. And there's lots more to do.

But we should be very grateful we happen to be here in America at the time that I'm convinced it is more possible for more people to live out their dreams than ever before if we simply meet our challenges and move ourselves closer to our ideals. And it has fallen to us now to do that.

The people decided to leave the Congress in the hands of the Republicans, but they sent a very strong message. A lot of the offices they won, they won by less than 1,000 votes. They don't want meanness. They don't want the politics of personal destruction. They want us to put the people first, the future first, and work together. All of that, too, you contributed to making happen. The whole feeling in this country is so different from what it was just a couple of years ago, and you helped to make that happen.

So I ask you tonight—I ask you tonight to sort of hold back your shoulders and take a deep breath and be very proud because you helped to make our democracy work and, of course, all of us believe, to make the right decision. And I ask you to wake up tomorrow—I hope, like me, you'll be a little less tired than you are tonight—but I ask you to wake up tomorrow with a new sense of optimism about your country, a new sense of belief in the future, and a new determination to continue the work of citizenship. We are making a difference. We're going to make a big difference in the next 4 years. And everybody's got a role to play. And everybody has something to do.

In closing, let me say a special word of thanks to Tipper and to Al and to Hillary. We four have had an unusual partnership. I doubt that there's been anything quite like it in the history of the Presidency and the Vice Presidency. But it has served America well.

And if I had served out my term as Governor and had been elected to another term as Governor instead of running for President, George Clinton and Bill Clinton would have been the two longest serving Governors in American history, and we could have been on a different list. So I think it's a pretty distinguished list, Mr. Vice President, myself.

Let's have a good time tonight. Let's wake up tomorrow proud that we won. And let's think about what we can do to build that bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:15 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Marvin Rosen, national finance chairman, and Richard Sullivan, finance director, Democratic National Committee; Peter Knight, campaign manager, Terry McAuliffe, fi-

nance chairman, and Laura Hartigan, finance director, Clinton/Gore '96; Mayors Dennis Archer of Detroit, MI, and Edward Randall of Philadelphia, PA; Justin Dart, former chair, President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Remarks on the Resignation of
Secretary of State Warren
Christopher and an Exchange With
Reporters**

November 7, 1996

The President. We are truly about to make a new beginning. Yesterday, at the wonderful welcome home that Hillary and Al and Tipper and I had at the White House, I saw a remarkable sight: Warren Christopher was wearing a T-shirt. [Laughter] He did have it on underneath his Saville Row suit. Nonetheless, it was there. This is the same Warren Christopher, I would remind you all, who made People magazine's best dressed list, the only man ever to eat Presidential M&M's on Air Force One with a knife and fork. [Laughter]

Yesterday, Secretary Christopher gave new meaning to my conviction that we are entering an age of new and remarkable possibility. Today it is with great regret at his departure but deep gratitude for his service to our administration and to our country that I have accepted Warren Christopher's decision to step down as Secretary of State.

He has left the mark of his hand on history, not in some theoretical, intangible fashion but in concrete ways that have made a real difference in the lives of the American people and people around the world. He has served three previous Democratic administrations, as a trade negotiator, a Deputy Attorney General, a Deputy Secretary of State when he brought home our hostages from Iran. These past 4 years, I have been proud and privileged to have him by my side as Secretary of State.

Today, if the children of the Middle East can imagine a future of cooperation, not conflict, if Bosnia's killing fields are once again playing fields, if the people of Haiti now live in democracy instead of under dictators, in

no small measure, it is because of Warren Christopher. The cause of peace and freedom and decency have never had a more tireless or tenacious advocate.

Those of us who have worked with Chris know that his quiet dignity masks a steely determination. Let me cite just one example.

History will record that Bosnia's peace was secured at Dayton. It will also recall that, literally, until the last minute the outcome was in doubt. Our negotiators had their bags packed and were ready to head home without an agreement. But Chris refused to give up. And the force of his will finally convinced the Balkan leaders to give into the logic of peace.

For all Secretary Christopher's skill at diffusing crises, I believe his lasting legacy was built behind the headlines, laying the foundations for our future. Under his leadership we've taken on new threats like terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and environmental degradation. We're seizing the opportunities to make the 21st century more secure and prosperous for every American; working toward a Europe that is undivided, democratic, and at peace; building a new partnership with a strong and open Russia; meeting the challenges of change in Asia with strength and steadiness; opening more markets abroad and helping American businesses to take advantage of these new opportunities.

Perhaps most important, Warren Christopher's life provides powerful proof that America has a unique responsibility and a unique privilege to lead. He has helped the American people understand that we cannot lead on the cheap; it takes time, energy, and resources. And as we go forward, I pledge to protect and preserve the resources for our diplomacy that Warren Christopher has put to such good use.

Finally, let me say, as all of you know, I owe Warren Christopher a debt that extends far beyond the broad range of his responsibilities. Few individuals did more to shape my first administration. He chaired our Vice Presidential search committee, and I'd say he came up with a pretty good recommendation. [Laughter] The American people have him to thank for my selection of Al Gore and the subsequent development of the most unique partnership in the history of the Pres-

idency and the Vice Presidency. And I think it is clear that the Vice President has been the most influential and constructive force ever to occupy the Vice Presidency's office.

Warren Christopher directed the 1992 transition, in particular, in building a Cabinet team that helped to put America on track as we enter the 21st century, one which a scholar of the Presidency wrote me and said was the most loyal Cabinet since Thomas Jefferson's first administration.

These past 4 years, time and again, I have reached out to my friend for his counsel, his judgment, and his support. It is no exaggeration to say that Warren Christopher has literally been America's elder statesman. It's also no exaggeration today that retains the energy, the vigor, and the capacity of a person half his age.

I thank Secretary Christopher for agreeing to stay on until we select a successor. I will consult closely with him in that process. In the weeks ahead I may have a hard time finding him, however. The Secretary is continuing to do the vital business of our Nation, participating next week in the Cairo conference, traveling to China and throughout Asia, moving on to Europe to work on Bosnia, and adapting NATO to the future.

Secretary Christopher already has set a 4-year record as America's most traveled diplomat-in-chief. If you could earn frequent flyer miles for Government travel, we would owe him at least a round trip on the space shuttle. *[Laughter]* The Vice President says that with the travel he's already logged in, he could go to the Moon and back and back to the Moon again. I want him to travel a few more miles so he will finish on the right planet. *[Laughter]*

Through dignity, determination, hard work, and skill, through an unbelievable, powerful collection and combination of his intellect, his integrity, and his good heart, Warren Christopher has earned our Nation's admiration and a debt that can never be fully repaid. From the bottom of my heart, I thank him for his service to the Nation and his unique friendship to the President.

Mr. Secretary.

[At this point, Warren Christopher made brief remarks thanking the President; the Vice President; and his wife, Marie.]

Selection of a Successor

Q. Mr. President, how will you go about choosing a successor? What's your plan for doing that?

The President. Don't sit down now. It won't take long for me to answer this question. *[Laughter]*

Let me say to all of you here in the press, I intend to have a press conference tomorrow afternoon, and I'll be more than happy to answer all of your questions in greater detail.

But I will go about selecting a successor, first of all, by soliciting the Secretary of State's advice and the advice of others on our national security team and others beyond that with whom I have worked and whom I trust. And I'm sure I'll get some unsolicited advice as we go along, and that's a good thing. I believe that the Secretary will be difficult to replace, but I think there will be worthy Americans who can contribute, who are willing to serve. And with all these places where we have vacancies, I want to cast a wide net.

And I think the American people sent us another message on Tuesday. They want us to work together. They like it when we try to have principled compromise. And they want us to create a vital center, that is, not one that just splits the difference but one that moves the country forward in an aggressive way, Republicans and Democrats and independents alike. And I will be looking, in all these personnel decisions that I have to make, across a broad span of American people to try to get the best people to create that vital center and take this country into the 21st century.

And I'll see you all tomorrow and look forward to answering your questions. Thank you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:50 p.m. in the Cross Halls on the State Floor at the White House.

Executive Order 13024—Amending Executive Order 12015, Relating to Competitive Appointments of Students Who Have Completed Approved Career-Related Work Study Programs

November 7, 1996

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including sections 3301 and 3302 of title 5, United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Executive Order 12015 of October 26, 1977, is amended as follows:

(a) in section 2 by striking “career or career-conditional” both times it appears and inserting in lieu thereof “term, career, or career-conditional”;

(b) by redesignating section 4 as section 5; and

(c) by inserting after section 3 the following new section:

“Sec. 4. Students converted to term appointment under section 2 may subsequently be converted noncompetitively to a career or career-conditional appointment before the term appointment expires.”

William J. Clinton

The White House,
November 7, 1996.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., November 8, 1996]

NOTE: This Executive order will be published in the *Federal Register* on November 12.

Proclamation 6951—To Extend Nondiscriminatory Treatment (Most-Favored-Nation Treatment) to the Products of Romania

November 7, 1996

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Pursuant to section 2 of Public Law 104–171, and having due regard for the findings of the Congress in section 1 of said Law, I hereby determine that Title IV of the Trade

Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2431–2441), should no longer apply to Romania.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, including but not limited to section 2 of Public Law 104–171, do proclaim that:

(1) Nondiscriminatory treatment (most-favored-nation treatment) shall be extended to the products of Romania, which will no longer be subject to Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974.

(2) Any provisions of previous proclamations and Executive orders inconsistent with the provisions of this proclamation are hereby superseded to the extent of such inconsistency.

(3) The extension of nondiscriminatory treatment to the products of Romania shall be effective as of the date of publication of this proclamation in the *Federal Register*.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventh day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-first.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:08 a.m., November 8, 1996]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on November 12.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President’s public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

November 2

In the afternoon, the President traveled from San Antonio, TX, to Little Rock, AR. In the evening, he traveled to New Orleans, LA. Later, the President traveled to Tampa, FL, arriving after midnight.

November 3

In the morning, the President traveled to West Palm Beach, FL. In the afternoon, he traveled to Union Township, NJ. While en route, aboard Air Force One, the President had a telephone interview with Tom Joyner of ABC Radio.

In the evening, the President traveled to Springfield, MA, and Bangor, ME, arriving in Bangor after midnight. Later, he traveled to Bedford, NH.

November 4

In the morning, the President attended an informal breakfast at the Merrimack Restaurant in Manchester, NH, with a group of friends and volunteers from the 1992 campaign. Later, he traveled to Cleveland, OH.

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Lexington, KY. In the evening, they traveled to Cedar Rapids, IA, Sioux Falls, SD, and Little Rock, AR, arriving in Little Rock after midnight.

November 5

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton voted at Union Station Precinct 476E-676E in Little Rock. Later, they attended a luncheon at a private residence.

November 6

In the morning, the President and Hillary Clinton returned to Washington, DC, arriving in the afternoon.

November 8

In the afternoon, the President met with Cabinet members in the Cabinet Room. He then held a news conference in the East Room.

Later in the afternoon, the President taped an interview with David Brinkley of ABC News for broadcast on "This Week With David Brinkley" on November 10.

The White House announced that the President will host a U.S.-European Union summit on December 16 at the White House.

**Nominations
Submitted to the Senate**

NOTE: No nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

**Checklist
of White House Press Releases**

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released November 1¹

Announcement on the independent U.S.-Russia scientific report on reducing excess plutonium stockpiles

Announcement on completion of the joint United States-Russian Government-to-Government plutonium disposition study

Released November 3

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry, Clinton/Gore '96 Press Secretary Joe Lockhart, and White House Director of Political Affairs Doug Sosnik

Released November 5

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Released November 7

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Released November 8

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the appointment of Garu Samore as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Di-

¹ These releases were not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue.

rector for Nonproliferation and Export Controls at the National Security Council

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry announcing the upcoming U.S.-European Union summit on December 16

**Acts Approved
by the President**

NOTE: No acts approved by the President were received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue.